

# STRIKING OUT IN SPACE

Reagan's Star Wars defense raises the stakes for war on Earth.

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Fred Halliday

on Iran-Iraq War, Page 11



# Weinberger takes on E.P. Thompson

By Jeremy Harding

L O N D O N

Public sector divestment and high unemployment on the one hand, stiff defense spending projections and the first stage of Cruise missile deployment completed on the other—broadly stated, this is the domestic backdrop to last month's debate at the Oxford Union between U.S. Defense Secretary Caspar Weinberger and English historian E.P. Thompson. The motion: there is no moral difference between the foreign policies of the U.S. and the Soviet Union.

The debate had been scheduled for last summer, but Weinberger withdrew, according to one columnist, on the advice of his British counterpart, Michael Heseltine, who felt that the U.S. defense secretary would not fare well in the free style of an Oxford Union debate. It is believed here that Washington expressed interest in the Oxford Union as a forum for U.S. policy debates following last year's defeat of a motion that the House would, under no circumstances, fight for Crown and Country—a replay of the famous motion put forward at the Union during the '30s, when it was carried. Whether or not the halls of the Oxford Union are a truer reflection now of public attitudes in Britain than they were 50 years ago, Weinberger's decision to debate Thompson paid off. The motion was defeated by 271 votes to 232.

Thompson spoke with characteristic strength and assurance, beginning his defense with praise for the openness of the American democratic process, in the tradition of Daniel Ellsberg or the Bulletin of Atomic Scientists. Without it, he said, there would be no information on U.S. arms deployment. In general, it compared favorably with the Soviet Union and Britain. He stressed the importance of efforts by European Nuclear Disarmament (END) to establish links between peace movements in the West and their unofficial counterparts in the East. All Europeans would now have to look out for themselves, he said, squeezed between "the born-again Christians" on one side and "the stillborn Soviets on the other." At the thick end of Soviet and U.S. foreign policies, from Afghanistan to El Salvador, no moral difference was discernible.

While Thompson was careful to keep a steady course down the center, he claimed nonetheless to see the "gulags" diminishing in the Eastern bloc, while a formidable U.S. presence around the world has increased the misery of American client states. And he warned that the cause of human rights would not be helped by pointing missiles at the offending regimes.

Neutrality, Thompson concluded, must assume a more positive dimension now. Until either of the superpowers could come up with



Der Spiegel

Defense Secretary Weinberger's decision to debate Thompson paid off.

ing out the recent emphasis on ground-launched Cruise to address the nuclear weapons issue as a whole. To begin with, it is calling for an information campaign on all Cruise missiles, with a particular focus on sea-launched Cruise. The SLCMs—thought to become operational in July—are described by the U.S. office of the chief of naval operations as "additional survivable Nuclear Forces for the Strategic Reserve Force" that "could be pivotal in the post-war balance and struggle for recovery."

CND is also mounting a full-scale education drive on non-nuclear defense to continue through the year. It plans a series of regional demonstrations April 14-15 at the major U.S. installations in Britain and a large demonstration in Coventry—site of heavy bombing during World War II—at the end of May. After the bitter disappointment of its uneasy alliance with the Labour Party in last year's elections, CND is increasingly cautious of any association with the political parties in this year's elections to the European parliament, though it plans to lobby candidates on their views about disarmament.

In contrast, the NATO governments are frozen in a position of relative disarray, despite the checkered success of the first Euro-missile deployments. The original deployment decision, as everyone now concedes, had a predominantly political character, designed as a show of U.S. support for its European allies and an intensification of posture in response to SS-20 deployment. Modernization of NATO nuclear forces was a comparatively minor point, even if the allies noted with consternation that 30 failures had occurred in the 114 Tomahawk test flights conducted before 1983 ended.

But like the defective test missiles, NATO's political gambit has aborted, and the Alliance, jolted by the size of its peace movements, is still in a state of slowly evolving crisis, now worsened by the failure of its 1979 "twin track" policy linking the deployment to arms negotiations. Last year's breakdown of the Geneva INF talks leaves only one track open—more deployment. Until the Soviet negotiators return to the talks, the prospect of forthcoming Euro-missiles represents only a further drop in the prevailing Cold War temperature, something the Alliance can ill afford as the peace movements regain their balance.

## Change of heart.

In Britain itself, the picture is equally clouded for Margaret Thatcher's government, which is hanging on to its so-called special relationship with the U.S. by a hair. As Cruise arrived in mid-November, the Labour opposition alleged that the schedule had taken Defense Minister Michael Heseltine by surprise. Coming after President Reagan's failure to consult Thatcher over Grenada, this suggestion aggravated British misgivings about close links with the U.S. and the siting of U.S. missiles in Britain. A poll carried out in November found that 59 percent of respondents were less likely to trust the U.S. after Grenada, and that 76 percent favored some kind of dual key system for Cruise, making it impossible for the Americans to launch any of the missiles without the full consent of the British government. This poll was taken only a few days after an announcement to the House of Commons by Michael Heseltine that protesters at Greenham who managed to break into Cruise bunkers

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## THE STORY

"an actual act" of disarmament, there could be no ethical distinction between them. In the meantime, it was the task of Europeans to struggle actively toward the creation of a neutral space between them and broker a new, genuine detente. His speech was greeted with prolonged applause.

Where Thompson had insisted on moral parity between both sides, Weinberger argued that the Soviet stockpile of guilt was the greater of the two. The virtue of U.S. foreign policy, he maintained, lay in the fact that it was an inevitable reflection of democratic procedures within the U.S. Subject to "consent of the governed," it was thereby susceptible to change. In a low-key address delivered in the style of a Defense Department press statement, Weinberger announced that a policy is moral if it advances certain basic principles laid down "by us in a letter to your government some 200 years ago." He told the House that the U.S. invaded Grenada to protect American citizens, adding that "we freed the islanders from a blood-thirsty regime, and left." There was no sign, he inferred, of the Soviet Union leaving Afghanistan—and no chance of the Soviet people voting their military home.

Reaching the end of what was in essence a carefully decontaminated and dethologized version of Reagan's celebrated Evil Empire speech, Weinberger told the House: "Great Britain could walk out of the Alliance tomorrow. If you told us to, we'd take our soldiers out of Great Britain. They'd be gone in a day or two. ...You live in a nation that freely joins and can freely leave any alliance that it wishes.... I urge your opposition to this motion, so that you can come again."

### A tense stalemate.

Weinberger's participation in the Union debate falls at a time of tense stalemate between the NATO governments and the European peace movements. In Britain, the defeat of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament (CND) over Cruise installation in November has forced the movement to rethink its strategy. It knows it must keep up its momentum and redefine its intentions, once more open-



## IN THESE TIMES



If labor sets out to "destroy Hart," it could be 1972 all over again.

# Mondale: no life of the party

By John B. Judis

WASHINGTON

**P**OLITICAL PROFESSIONALS who worry about the Democratic Party as an institution have two objectives in the 1984 presidential elections: first, to defeat Ronald Reagan, and second, to arrest the decline and disintegration of the Democratic coalition that has made the Democrats the majority party since 1932. It is too early to predict whether the Democrats will achieve their first objective, but one can safely say—on the basis of the primaries so far—that the Democratic coalition will continue to disintegrate.

Colorado Senator Gary Hart's early victories over former Vice President Walter Mondale—whatever the final outcome—have subverted the AFL-CIO's strategy for shoring up the Democratic coalition, while the Rev. Jesse Jackson's egregious indiscretions have exacerbated already tense relations between blacks and Jews, who, in recent years, have been the party's most loyal constituencies. The disintegration of the Democratic coalition may not affect the final result in November—it could, ironically, aid a candidate like Hart—but it will make it impossible for a Democratic president, whether in 1985 or 1989, to govern decisively.

The failure to date of the AFL-CIO strategy is of some importance to the American left. After the Reagan landslide of 1980, Kirkland and other labor leaders took two steps to reconstitute the Democratic Party and prevent a recurrence of 1980 or 1972, the other Republican landslide: first, with the support of Mondale and Kennedy aides, they weakened the key post-1968 Democratic Party reforms that had made possible the nominations of "outsiders" Sen. George McGovern in 1972 and Gov. Jimmy Carter in 1976; and second, they set up an endorsement process, by which the entire AFL-CIO would endorse a Democratic candidate before the primary. The party reforms were intended to provide labor with a veto power over the final nominee, while the early endorsement was supposed to provide labor with the candidate of its choice.

Kirkland, former United Auto Workers President Douglas Fraser and other

labor leaders wanted the Democratic Party to be structured more along the lines of the British Labor Party, where nominees are chosen by the unions and by party activists rather than through public primaries. Defending the Kirkland model, one high-ranking labor lobbyist said last week, "How can the people make a judgment? They have no way of really knowing the candidate. We have to deal with these guys on a day-to-day basis."

In 1982, Kirkland and his allies got the Democratic Party to adopt new rules that made life more difficult for outsiders and for candidates merely aiming to assemble a bloc of convention delegates. In March 1982, the Democratic National Committee (DNC) accepted proposals to bunch together the primary season, raise to 20 percent the minimum proportion of a vote that a candidate must get to win delegates in a voting district and make 1,329 out of the 5,257 delegates at the Democratic convention appointed rather than popularly elected. In October 1983, the AFL-CIO formally endorsed Mondale.

At its best, the AFL-CIO strategy was the first step in politicizing the labor movement, in bringing the accumulated wisdom of the leadership to bear upon the thoughts of the rank-and-file, and vice versa. Since the labor movement remains the largest and most important part of the American left, there was good reason to be encouraged by the AFL-CIO's adoption of this strategy. But at its worst, the AFL-CIO strategy was what one labor official described last week as "a technocratic quick fix." The AFL-CIO would simply buy itself a candidate through its phone banks and its clout in Washington.

In practice, the AFL-CIO strategy has far more resembled the latter. In Massachusetts, for instance, an important primary state for labor, the AFL-CIO's COPE (Committee on Political Education) hired a professional calling firm to read a message prepared in Washington to union voters. Only after a protest from the Massachusetts State Federation did national COPE consent to having union staff do the prepared followup calling.

Some labor officials don't believe that the strategy, in Kirkland's hands, could be anything other than a quick fix. One labor official said last week, "You can't energize your people every four years. And it doesn't happen without ideology. What we need is ongoing political educa-

tion, but Kirkland doesn't believe in it. You can't go playing around with Felix Rohatyn and Irving Shapiro [two major business figures to whom Kirkland is close] one minute, and give your people a sense of class struggle the next."

## Labor and Hart.

So far, the campaign's events have also cast labor's strategy in the worst light. First came the Jackson challenge to the party rules. Jackson understandably wanted to change the rule that required a candidate to get 20 percent of the vote in order to get convention delegates. He was able to win tacit, but not active, support from the other candidates, including Walter Mondale, but could not budge Kirkland or DNC Chair Charles Mannatt. When Jackson's compromise proposal was rejected by the DNC last January, he blamed Kirkland and began attacking the AFL-CIO.

Labor's endorsement strategy has also fared poorly. Its early backing for Mondale prompted the other candidates, particularly Hart, Jackson and Sen. John Glenn, to attack the AFL-CIO and Mondale. Based on their past records, these candidates might otherwise have been friendly to labor in the primaries, even if particular unions had backed Mondale. Worse still, their attacks against Mondale as "Big Labor's candidate" seem to have succeeded in destroying Mondale's support among independents and among Democrats distrustful of Washington-based special interest groups. In all the early states except Iowa, the endorsement lost Mondale more votes than it won him.

With Hart's early victories, the endorsement strategy has put the AFL-CIO in a difficult position with respect to the eventual nominee. To make its strategy work, it has set out, in the words of one official, to "destroy Hart." In addition to pointing out genuine differences between Mondale and Hart on such issues as the teen wage, labor officials have dredged up votes Hart made two terms

ago. And Kirkland has derided Hart's proposals as "futuristic formulas for micro-chip minds"—a formulation that suggests the AFL-CIO's indifference to new kinds of industry and technology.

While Hart's record is not as consistently pro-labor as Mondale's, his record is quite respectable—a 79 COPE rating and 95 ADA in 1982—particularly in view of the largely non-union state he represents. The AFL-CIO's attacks will probably not seriously damage Hart against Mondale—Mondale's weakness remains voter skepticism about what he has to offer—and could create a gulf between the AFL-CIO and the possible nominee that is difficult to bridge; it may be 1972 all over again.

The AFL-CIO's strategy has not created any rifts between it and other Washington-based Democratic lobbies—NOW, for instance, also endorsed Mondale and major black organizations have opposed Jackson—but it has again revealed the yawning chasm between the AFL-CIO's old guard and an important part of the Democrats' post-1968 base: younger, college-educated voters. These voters, some of whom belong to unions, backed McGovern in 1972; Carter or Rep. Morris Udall (and not the AFL-CIO's favorite Sen. Henry Jackson) in 1976; some favored Rep. John Anderson in 1980; and in 1984, they are flocking to Hart. Those labor officials and political operatives close to the Coalition for a Democratic Majority refer to this group as "McGovernites" and believe that the Democrats can win general elections without them. But the 1984 primary is showing that they cannot win Democratic primaries without them.

Labor union officials like the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees' Gerald McEntee have blamed Hart's victories in the early primaries on the conservative electorate in the New England states. As another official put it, "The moral of the story is that you can't have relations to labor and you can't be a spender. It basically says that both the labor movement and the left are anachronisms."

But this explanation appears to be self-serving. Hart has not been perceived—whatever his actual record is—as "right" rather than "left." He has gotten a majority of the vote from those who identify themselves as "liberals." In the exit polls, the only factor that has distinguished Hart's support from Mondale's is the age of voters.

Labor officials, particularly those based in downtown Washington offices, tend to underestimate the anti-Washington, anti-establishment vote, which is also neither a "left" nor a "right" vote but reflects the public's understandable skepticism about the ability of politicians like Mondale—long identified with Capitol Hill and a member of the Carter administration—to solve the country's ills.

Indeed, the AFL-CIO strategy, which seems designed to circumvent popular sentiments in Oshkosh or Grand Lake, plays into this perception of Washington and of Mondale.

Even if labor is able to get enough of its people out to win the large industrial states for Mondale and to carry him the nomination in July, both the AFL-CIO and Mondale will have to face this problem of public perceptions again in November.

## Jackson and the Jews.

The other serious problem that the Democrats will now have to face in July and then again in November is the relationship between blacks and Jews. Tension and hostility has existed between black and Jewish organizations since the mid-'60s, but Jackson's campaign has made it an issue inside the Democratic Party and with party voters, not just organizations.

Jackson was dogged by questions from Jewish groups about his Mideast policy since he announced his candidacy last fall. Some of the groups' behavior toward Jackson constituted harassment. One group organized by the Jewish De-

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# IN SHORT

## Burlington's progress

The throng of supporters cheered each Progressive Coalition candidate as they entered the Burlington, Vt., bar, regardless of whether he or she had been victorious. "We are the most viable local political movement in the country" declared socialist mayor Bernie Sanders. At stake in the March 6 non-mayoral election was control of the 13-member board of aldermen, reports Graham Clarke. With the convincing re-election of the three incumbents and George Thabault's victory over Democrat Jim Burns, the Progressive Coalition now has six seats on the board. Thabault's victory over Burns was especially sweet for Mayor Sanders. Burns had consistently fought him for three years and referred to Sanders' aldermanic allies as "the five blind mice." With Motown music playing in the background and his face on the video screen, Sanders told the packed barroom, "For a bunch of blind mice, we have a hell of a vision."

The Democratic Party—controlling city hall for 30 years before Bernie became a household name—continued its downward slide, losing all seven aldermanic contests in this rapidly booming city of 40,000.

## Refugee refusal

Offering "land and protection," the Honduran government since the fall of 1983 has been trying to move 20,000 Salvadoran refugees from camps on the border of the two countries to provinces of Yoro and Olancho in northern Honduras. The parcel of land at Yoro is only seven miles from the U.S. military base at Puerta Castilla, a major training center for the Salvadoran army. Since most of the refugees at the Colomocagua, Mesa Grande and San Antonio camps fled from the army during the major 1980 offensive, they decided not to opt for the "protection" that the U.S. base would afford. Their refusal to move—they have announced they would return to their homeland before moving farther inland in Honduras—is supported by groups of refugee workers in the camps (Doctors without Frontiers, the Mennonite Church, CARITAS) as well as solidarity groups in the U.S.

The Honduran government first issued a March 1 deadline for the relocation, but the unexpected resistance has forced them to postpone the move until June 1. Luis Ramirez, a refugee working with the U.S.-based Casa El Salvador, notes that date conveniently collides with the beginning of Big Pine III military maneuvers that will bring thousands of U.S. military personnel to the war-torn border region. "Those camps, with their usable roads, running water, latrines and hospitals—all built with the refugees' own hands—will make an ideal staging base for the U.S. military to make quick forays across the Salvadoran border." The United Nations High Commissioner on Refugees and the U.S. Embassy in Honduras both support the refugee relocation, but have not yet explained how the more than 100-mile trek will benefit the Salvadoran refugees.

## One more for the rainbow

"Puerto Ricans for Jackson" is more than rainbow coalition rhetoric, according to a March survey by the Institute for Puerto Rican Policy (IPR). In the first large-scale study done on Puerto Rican voting preference, Jackson ran away with 32 percent of the vote (a slightly higher percentage than given him by the black community, according to a recent *Washington Post* survey). Mondale—although backed by most Puerto Rican politicians—polled an uninspiring second with 21 percent. In fact, Mondale was almost upset by non-candidate Edward Kennedy, whose surname still culls support in many Latino communities.

Most of the Puerto Ricans surveyed were professional and business leaders. Angelo Falcon of the IPR points out, "If those involved in business and professional activities are disenchanted with the mainstream candidates, there's a lot of potential out there for the Jackson campaign. Now if only the visible Puerto Rican politicians could see it that way."

## Back to Calculus 101

Your local nuclear power plant may be leaking radiation at a rate from two to 10 times higher than currently allowable by the Nuclear Regulatory Commission (NRC) if Dr. Zinovy Reyblat's calculations are correct. Reyblat, an authority on nuclear plant leak testing, warns that the NRC made a fundamental error in calculating "containment air mass" in those buildings used to shield us from nuclear material, reports Barbara Schuler.

Reyblat has been critical of NRC's leak rate testing procedures since 1969 and has repeatedly asked for the raw data—temperature and pressure readings taken during accident simulation tests—to put his revised equation to the test. The nuclear agency's refusals and its proposal to double allowable leak rates in some plants have led him to join with the Chicago-based Citizens Against Nuclear Power (CANP) in a case before the NRC in April. If Reyblat and CANP have their way, the NRC will be forced to open up the raw data to public scrutiny as well as clarify testing guidelines that are so vague now that they "make cheating perfectly legal."

—Beth Maschinot

## Coors fails to stop nationwide boycott

SAN FRANCISCO—Adolph Coors Company, the Colorado-based brewing giant, recently lost an antitrust suit aimed at halting a six-year-old national boycott led by organized labor and supported by left organizations across the U.S. A Coors victory could possibly have curbed drastically the ability of organized labor and consumer groups to use boycotts as weapons against corporations.

The brewer had sought both damages and an injunction against all boycott activity by the defendants, alleging that the Coors Boycott Committee was not a labor union and thus was not covered by federal and state laws permitting trade unions to organize boycotts.

In a strongly worded 22-page opinion, Judge Williams wrote that the defendants' right to or-

ganize a boycott was constitutionally protected under the First Amendment. William described Coors' allegation that the boycotters had violated antitrust laws as "far-fetched" and "an unwarranted expansion in antitrust theory."

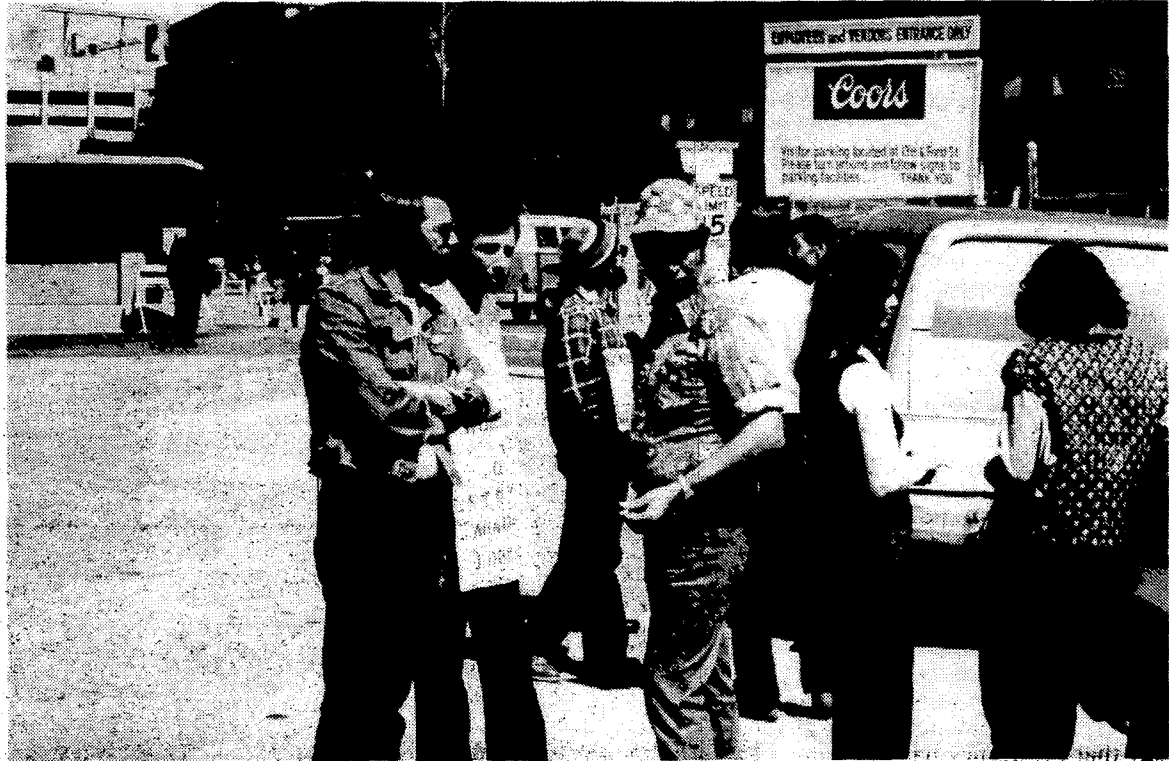
A Coors attorney who asked not to be identified said the company planned to appeal Judge Williams' decision and to file a new suit in state court against the organizers of the boycott, claiming that Judge Williams had incorrectly applied antitrust law in his ruling.

The lengthy boycott has coincided with a precipitous decline in the popularity of Coors beer, especially in California. In 1977, selling just one type of beer, Coors controlled 45 percent of the California beer market; by 1982, that figure had fallen to 20 percent. According to *Beer Mar-*

ket's *Insights*, a trade publication, Coors—which now sells a light beer and Killian's Red, a darker beer that bears the Coors name only in small print—captured just 16.1 percent of the beer market in California during the first 11 months of 1983. Nationwide, the brewery remained in fifth place, with 7.4 percent of the market.

To Coors, the \$145,000 sought in its antitrust suit is a pittance, but the victory would have had dire repercussions for future boycotting activities. The company is continuing to aggressively pursue the lawsuit to send the boycotters a signal. "One suspects,"

—Frank Clancy



An aborted 20-month strike in 1978 by the Brewery Workers Union led to the boycott against Coors.

that practice union-busting, as Coors has.

In a February 17 decision, Federal District Court Judge Spencer Williams dismissed Coors' lawsuit against the Coors Boycott Committee, Howard Wallace, a San Francisco gay activist who coordinates the boycott in Northern California, A. David Sickler, the national coordinator of the boycott, and Solidarity, a local lesbian and gay political action group that participated in boycott support activities.

The general nationwide boycott arose in 1978 after a 20-month strike by the Brewery Workers Union was broken by employees crossing the picket line and voting to recertify the union. The boycott has been endorsed by left and gay organizations because of the Coors' family generosity toward such right-wing causes as Phyllis Schlafly's anti-ERA campaign, the Council on a Union-Free Environment and the Heritage Foundation.

The Coors lawsuit arose out of a May 1981 incident in which public television station KQED in San Francisco canceled a proposed "Coors Day" at its annual auction. KQED had planned to display prominently the red-and-white Coors logo for an entire day of the auction. Employees of Coors distributors were to answer auction phones with the greeting "Thank you for calling KQED Coors Day!" For 13 hours of publicity, Coors and its distributors were to donate \$13,000 to KQED. As public opposition to "Coors Day" mounted, KQED asked Coors to withdraw its sponsorship offer.

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## Methodists fight union

WASHINGTON—Will a fight with its own unionized employees turn the United Methodist Church away from its traditional support for labor's right to organize?

Union members at the New York headquarters of the Methodist Board of Global Ministries say that has already happened. They charge that the agency abandoned its principles at the start of this year, when it cut off negotiations with United Auto Workers (UAW) District 65 and imposed a settlement. The agency's employees voted 133-88 to unionize in December 1982 and had been seeking a contract ever

since.

Management labor-relations lawyer Robert Lees, who has become the church's sole spokesman on the issue, insists that it bargained in good faith and did everything it could to settle the dispute. No religious principle requires the church to bow to "unreasonable" union demands, he said.

Negotiations broke down over two issues. The union, contending that its members earn less than employees of other denominations, sought wage increases of more than 10 percent a year. Management's ceiling was under 8 percent.

Workers also sought a union or agency shop. Management, said Lees, "took the simple position that they did not believe it appropriate that anyone should



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have to join an organization to work for the Methodist church." This "puts the Methodists on record in support of 'right-to-work' for the first time," responded a union spokesman.

The dispute is fraught with painful ironies for the Methodists. In the past, conservatives objected to church support for labor campaigns like the '70s boycott of the fervently anti-union J.P. Stevens textile company. Just last year, Ogle appeared at a congressional hearing to condemn a company, Litton Industries, for failing to bargain in good faith when it refused to sign union contracts unless workers accepted management's terms.

The church agency's stance has led to some behind-the-scenes infighting within Methodist management ranks. Top officials have warned some pro-union middle managers that they will feel unspecified "repercussions" if, in the event of a strike, they refuse to cross picket lines, say sources at the agency. Officials who run the agency, including General Secretary Robert Nugent, refuse to speak with the press.

The board's president, Bishop Jesse DeWitt of Chicago, is co-chair of the National Religion and Labor Conference and a long-time supporter of organized labor. DeWitt is not directly involved in the negotiations, and said that only Nugent could answer specific questions about management behavior. He did say that the agency has "affirmed our position for open and collective bargaining" and he assumes it would return to the bargaining table if the union made a reasonable new offer.

Lees contradicted DeWitt. The church will do no more negotiating, he said. If workers want a contract they must accept management's final offer unchanged.

From the beginning, top Methodist officials have acted as if they felt betrayed by their pro-union employees. A year ago, when they were still talking to the press, Assistant General Secretary Betsy Ewing said the union vote showed that church employees no longer "work out of a sense of understanding of the church. In the last 20 years, the mood of the country is different," she complained. "You have employees that don't understand their employer."

Ewing said management didn't understand why workers decided to unionize and complained that the union might hurt workplace relationships. Laverne Booker, a secretary who helped lead the union drive, laughingly responded, "Our cup had runneth over"—with wage freezes and inadequate grievance and promotion plans. She said the union would have "a great positive effect. We won't be puppets pulled by a string, we will be treated like human beings. When the church embraces humanity, we will be included in that embrace."

Despite the negotiations cut-off, there will probably be no strike, at least not in the near future. Before they consider walking out, unionists say they will try to shame the agency into returning to the bargaining table.

—Steve Askin

*This story is adapted from the National Catholic Reporter.*



## Briefing: White train rolls into resistance

The nuclear weapon-bearing "white train" left the Pantex weapons manufacturing plant in Amarillo, Texas, on a foggy February 21 bound for the Trident submarine base in Bangor, Wash. As it wound its way on the northwestern route, the 17-car train, painted white

to minimize heat absorption, met trackside blockades and vigils staged by antinuclear and church activists. In the past year people in 200 communities, stretching from the Texas Panhandle to Puget Sound, have set up an extensive protest network ready to hound the

white train as it passes through their towns.

Although the federal government has a policy of neither confirming nor denying the presence of nuclear materials on the trains, David G. Jackson, spokesman for the Department of Energy in Albuquerque, N.M., said the shipment contained "either nuclear weapons, special nuclear materials or other classified components."

Each time the secrecy-shrouded train rolls, it encounters resistance. The February trip generated protests and vigils in 30 different locations, including the arrests of 51 people for civil disobedience.

In Portland, the train was forced to make an unscheduled three-hour stop as people knelt and lay on the tracks. By the time the train reached the city on February 24, more than 150 people had been notified by the communications network—telephones and walkie-talkies—set up along the train route. Union Pacific Railroad employees and a dozen Portland city police were unable to remove the large number of protesters from the tracks, so the Washington state riot squad was called in to help. Thirty-three residents were arrested for criminal trespassing.

Many of them are considering a courtroom defense based on the Nuremberg Principles that forbid preparations for genocide or for launching an aggressive war. Mary Kaufman, former prosecuting attorney at the Nuremberg War Crimes Tribunal, points out that "in the '80s, the test of the legality of the new technological weapons has to be the dictates of public conscience."

Blockades and vigils were held by several hundred other people at pre-determined places as the train wound its way through Nebraska, Wyoming, Idaho, Oregon and Washington. Each community of resisters has its own personality. At some sites months of weekly prayerside vigils culminated in human blockades, in some towns trackside resistance was staged after months of unsuccessful attempts to persuade city

and county officials to declare nuclear-free zones.

The train's schedule and route information is coordinated by Ground Zero Center for Nonviolent Action in Bangor, Wash. It relays its information to the Agape Community, an antinuclear network that sprang up in 1981 solely to pursue the train. Many Agape communities have round-the-clock surveillance of the tracks to assure that the nuclear train does not complete its trip undisturbed.

The first white train was spotted by James Douglass of Ground Zero in late 1982 and traced back to its source at Pantex. Although activists first learned of the existence of the nuclear weapon-bearing trains a few months before that sighting, they estimate that it has been delivering nuclear components for more than 20 years, at the rate of three or four deliveries annually.

Douglass recently learned that the Energy Department may try to create a law making it a felony for people to share information about the transport of nuclear weapons. The government already tries to evade its pursuers in other ways. Last year, to create a diversion, two white trains were sent on alternate routes, but both were still met by people watching the tracks. During the March 1983 run, strong opposition in Denver and Fort Collins, Colo., persuaded the government to bypass the state in the future.

It took the white train four days to arrive at its destination, with only one interruption. But each time it begins its journey, more and more people gather on the tracks intending to stop the cargo targeted for the submarine base on Puget Sound.

The grassroots resistance is beginning to spread to church leadership as well. As the train headed for Bangor, 12 U.S. bishops released a statement denouncing the weapons shipment as a "significant step toward a first strike holocaust and a violation of the moral stand we have taken with the support of many other U.S. citizens."

—Jonathan Rabinovitz and Andy Robinson

*Protesters in Portland block the white train, stopping it for the first time in 20 years. Thirty-three were arrested.*





# POLITICS

By David Moberg

SELMA, ALA.

**T**WENTY-ONE YEARS AGO, Marie Foster spread the word by hand-delivered letters to more than 500 black community leaders that she would conduct a citizenship class to teach blacks how to register to vote successfully.

The barriers were formidable. After nine years of trying, she had finally jumped all the hurdles, joining the small elite of 250 blacks in Dallas County (out of roughly 15,000 eligible) who had secured their right to vote. But her offer to help fell on discouraged ears. Only one person showed up for her first class. Yet she resisted the temptation to throw in the towel, she recalled recently, because she realized "that's the way they want you to feel—hopeless—so you stop trying."

Gradually, the classes grew so large that the county enjoined them. At that point Frederick Douglas Reese, head of the Dallas County Voters League, invited Martin Luther King to help lead protest demonstrations. Those marches—one stopped in a bloody sheriff's attack on the Edmund Pettus bridge over the Alabama River, another finally made the trek from Selma to Montgomery—helped force Congress to approve the Voting Rights Act of 1965.

Marie Foster has not stopped trying and has not given up hope. In the March 13 Alabama primary, she was the delegate candidate for Jesse Jackson. Last fall she was also one of the newly appointed deputy registrars in Selma with the power to go anywhere in the community to sign up voters. But she was so successful, many blacks here believe, that shortly after a Jackson campaign appearance, which included the standard pitch to register, the local white political powers met and decided to eliminate the deputy registrars. They were eventually pressured to restore the posts, but would not reappoint Foster.

The local leaders did not fear a big black turnout for Jackson in the presidential primary, which most observers expected, as much as they feared that the number of black registered voters might approach the white level by July 10. That's when F.D. Reese, now a junior high principal, a minister and a city council member, will continue his own long march in Selma. He will challenge 20-year incumbent Mayor Joe T. Smitherman, a self-styled, right-leaning populist who has long counted on winning black votes while assuring restive whites that they still ran the town. Smitherman has pulled in state and federal funds to repair streets, build sewers and refurbish a shaky downtown business district in this still poor town of 27,000.

Jackson's campaign has stirred a new excitement about politics among blacks in Selma, but black leaders have been divided not only in their support for Jackson or Mondale but also in their judgment about how much credit Jackson deserves for the new awakening. For both blacks and whites, local political battles are generating the greatest passion. For whites in this part of Alabama, it appears that no Democratic presidential candidate has stirred real enthusiasm and Reagan continues to have deep appeal. For blacks, Jackson may be a potent symbol and source of inspiration, but locally there is a chance of winning more real power.

Jackson campaigned here three times, partly for the symbolism, partly because the Black Belt—named for its soil but almost as appropriate racially—may be his strongest base in the state. Henry "Hank" Sanders, a 41-year-old lawyer who won a state Senate seat last year when redistricting created a black majority seat, served as one of four state chairs of the Jackson campaign.

"I really expect Jackson to carry the state of Alabama," he argued. "That's especially true in light of the emergence of Gary Hart." The white vote will be widely split and blacks might be mobilized for Jackson. (Blacks are 23 percent

of voting age population in the state but a much higher percentage of the Democratic primary electorate if the white vote is as light as some predict.) Although Mondale received endorsements from the established, largely black Alabama Democratic Conference (ADC) and from black leaders like Birmingham Mayor Richard Arrington, Sanders says that 19 of 24 black mayors, three-fourths of black state legislators and a host of civil rights veterans, occasional ministers and other grassroots workers have been pulling for Jackson.

"Jackson can do more for black folks by just running than Mondale can do by being elected," Sanders argued. "He energizes people, generates hopes. His campaign contributes toward the development of grassroots folks for long-term benefit. Mondale doesn't, although I could see him doing some good."

"Also, the best person should emerge to fight Reagan. I think it's presumptuous to say it's Mondale without him being tested, and then have Reagan wipe him out."

"Third, my daughter is 10 years old. She has seen her father run for state office, her mother run for judge and all these other black political leaders come through our house. Whenever the issues come up, she said, 'I didn't know a black man could run for president.'"

"If Jesse Jackson doesn't do anything but dispel the idea that a black should not run for president, then he has accomplished something—especially when there were seven whites out there and we had a national debate over whether a black should run. To dispel that, he must run successfully."

"Fifth, Jackson forces the rest of them to deal with a broader agenda. We'd be taken for granted without Jackson out there."

## Black split.

The arguments are common, especially the role Jackson plays as an energizer and a lesson to young people. But the overwhelming argument against him among blacks has been that he cannot win. Sanders prefers to say that two other candidates have a better chance. Also, backers of Mondale, the only other candidate that appeared to have much black support, argue that they should support him as their most realistic hope.

The split separates long-time allies. Edwin Moss, 69, is a retired fundraiser who started a credit union back in 1950 so that blacks would not have to rely exclusively on whites for loans and thus could begin to act politically independent. Over the years, he has been the black leader most acceptable to whites. After years of supporting Mayor Smitherman, Moss is

backing Reese. But he is also a Mondale delegate.

"Even though I love to see Jesse running, I just want to be in a position to help elect a person I feel will be some help for us rather than voting for Jesse because he's black," Moss said. "I don't see how he can improve conditions of black people by doing it. Those people supporting Jesse are people who would support Mondale. We could fool around and somebody else could get in there. Also, I'm an organization man. I think we have to be together, and the Alabama Democratic Conference is the best thing we have going for us in Alabama. And they made their decision."

Yet even the organization leaders are torn. J.L. Chestnut, Sander's senior law partner, is a vice-chairman of ADC. He "lobbied, connived, spoke and did everything for Jesse Jackson" at the endorsement meeting, but state Chairman Joe Reed—in the eyes of Sanders, Chestnut and others—so dominated and manipulated the conference that the Mondale endorsement was pushed through with a token endorsement of Jackson as vice president.

"It puts me in a damn delicate position," Chestnut said. "My concerns and interests transcend Mondale and Jesse Jackson. I know something that went into putting the Alabama Democratic Conference together and its benefits to blacks in Alabama. I've been preaching for two decades that you can't win every battle in this organization, but you can't walk out when you lose." Nevertheless, Chestnut acknowledges, "I don't do a heck of a lot of arguing for Mondale."

The split between blacks reflects both class and age, according to Chestnut. The marchers for civil rights and poorer people support Jackson, along with the politicized intelligentsia, but older, middle-class blacks prefer Mondale. "My daughter is unquestionably for Jesse Jackson," he said. "My mother is just as adamant in support of Walter Mondale. There's a matter of age, of cultural baggage. Mondale blacks tend to be quieter, a little bit older—schoolteachers and that sort of thing."

That explains, Chestnut argued, why black churches and ministers have not been as prominent in the Jackson campaign as expected, despite the endorsement from top Baptist leaders in the state and the nation. More ministers than usual are endorsing Jackson. But, Chestnut argues, "Black churches, like white churches, are very conservative. Though Jackson is a preacher, I don't think his strength is coming out of the black church. In any black church who do you have? A handful of men and a large number of women who are women like my

mother. Jackson's people are not that active in the church."

## What is winning?

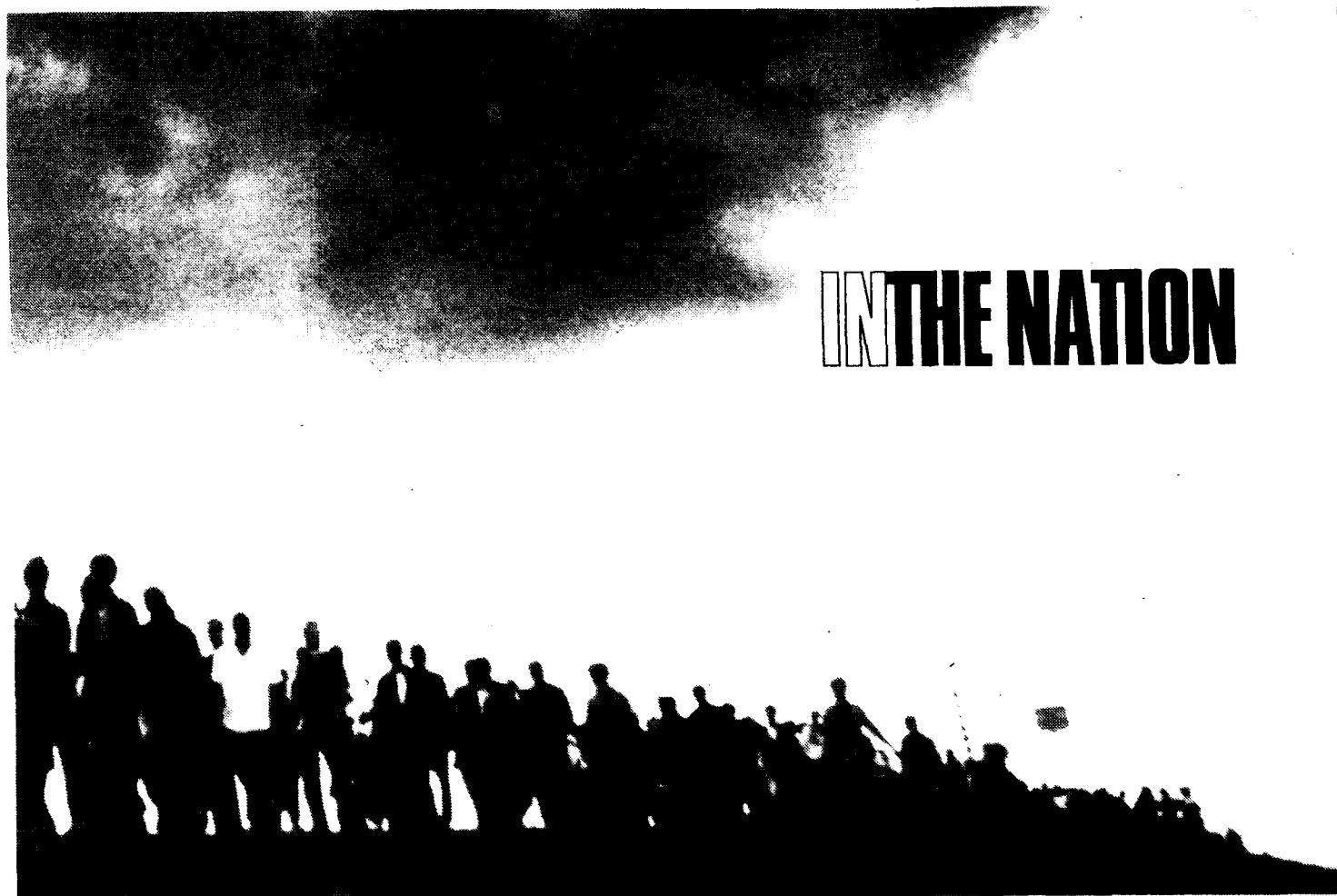
F.D. Reese is an exception—a minister and teacher who is for Jackson, but then he was also a marcher. He has an answer for those who say Jackson can't win. "What is your definition of winning?" he said. "My definition of winning in this instance is the candidate that can inspire, motivate people to want to become involved in the political process, to have a significant bearing on the destiny of black people in the South, in the black belt. Jackson gives that push that many

**"If Jackson doesn't do anything but dispel the idea that a black should not run for president, then he's accomplished something."**



Lionel Delvingne





## IN THE NATION

*Scene from a March 1965 march from Selma to Montgomery, Ala., in support of black voting rights.*

communities need to heighten expectations of citizens of what politics can do. In my heart, he's already won. He's my president."

After thinking about it a long time, Reese announced on January 28 that he was running for mayor. "I'm sure Jackson's candidacy had something to do with speeding up my decision," he said.

The same thing has happened in other parts of the state. Sanders says that Jackson's candidacy has inspired a likely black candidate in a Florence, Ala., district where blacks are a small minority.

Brown Chapel A.M.E. Church in Selma is as close to a civil rights shrine as they come. It is where the marchers gathered, where they bound their wounds and where they erected plaques to movement martyrs.

But Rev. Joseph Rembert, a young pastor who started there in 1980, is a Mondale supporter. "I cheered Jackson on as much as anyone," he said. "But I have no obligation to vote for Jesse to commemorate what he's done. I am more interested in getting Ronald Reagan out of office. I don't think it's that smart to give an image to young people of a loser. Jesse would make as good a president as anyone else, but the majority of white America, even if they agree with his philosophy, are not ready for a black president."

"What inspires people more is Harold Washington winning, Wilson Goode, Andy Young. We have a chance of having a black mayor in Selma. I don't think it's a result of Jackson's candidacy. If Reese is elected, it will be on what Rev. Reese has done in Selma. There's always more excitement in a race when you think you can win than when you can't. Selma's political revival started before Rev. Jesse Jackson started running."

"Jackson is an astute politician. He's been able to see what's happened across the country. Most of small town mayors have been elected here prior to Rev. Jackson's candidacy. But he could take on the role as priest and prophet of the movement. Every place he has gone, he'll get credit for victories. I give credit to black Americans who became concerned about our plight and said we don't want a handout, we want a hand in."

"But it's hard to say I'm not for Jackson. If my vote determined whether Jackson would be president, I'd cast my vote for him."

Moss also thinks that the Selma political revival started before Jackson. As a recent appointee to the board of registrars, the first black, he helped magnify the community pressure that won deputy registrars last year, first in the county, then in Selma itself (where the black population is higher).

But Chestnut argues, "I haven't seen or felt the pulse out there like this, the general civil rights atmosphere that protest is in the air, since the '60s, and that's

# Jackson's bid inspires blacks in Selma, Alabama

directly a result of Jesse."

As blacks in Selma make a bid for increased political power, white reaction has grown. The city council has been embroiled in a debate over ward boundaries. Presently the 10 seats from five wards are evenly split, but one new plan would give blacks a tiny paper majority that on strict racial terms could shift the balance to six to four. Despite black support for white politicians, "Selma has not gotten to the point where whites will vote for blacks," Moss said.

Some typical Southern tactics that Jackson has protested are still employed in Dallas County and Selma. Run-off elections are standard, so that when whites threaten to split the vote—as they are likely to do when two whites and one black contest for council president this summer—they can regroup later for racial solidarity. County-wide offices are elected at large, not by districts, thus maintaining an all-white county government. (Reese and others are contemplating a lawsuit on the issue, and generally the specter of Justice Department enforcement of the Voting Rights Act is still a potent force for blacks in Selma.)

Also, although registration is much easier now, the board is open at most 10 days a month, and until recently its hours were 9:00 to 4:00 with a two-hour lunch break, making it hard for working people to register. Nevertheless, registration figures are impressive. According to a study by Charles Robertson of the Alabama Center for Higher Education, at the end of 1983 93.4 percent of eligible blacks and 102 percent of eligible whites were registered. Both whites and blacks agree that the rolls desperately need purging of ineligible voters.

Whites in Selma had a real majority of between 1,000 and 1,300 at the end of last year, according to various estimates. But with around 300 new black voters and 120 white voters registered in January and early February, the margin narrows. Blacks have more potential for growth, since the city and county both have a black majority of population and soon will have a black majority of eligible voters. Typically, only about 40 percent of Selma's black voters go to the polls, but with a strong black candidate, turnout should soar.

The new black deputy registrars began last October to comb the community for young people or older residents who had escaped earlier registration drives. They went to food projects for the poor, local athletic contests, political rallies—anywhere people gathered. "I would go out to schools in the morning, to shopping centers, to food stores," Marie Foster said. "I would get up early to go to the food stamp place. I asked my friends to help canvass. I would announce at meetings that I was a deputy registrar, and later I would get calls from people to come to their homes."

Foster was given 15 registration forms in October before the registrars closed shop until January. Since she had heard clerks talk of copying the forms at other times, she decided to do it herself. But when she brought those in, the board said it was illegal. She was also accused of giving incorrect ages, although she said she did what the board itself would have done and simply recorded ages people reported. Yet even after she was eliminated as a deputy registrar, she continued to bring people to the county building to register.

Rev. Cecil Williamson, a 43-year-old white Presbyterian minister who serves on the city council, was in a sense inspired by Foster to fight her and to fight the inevitable. Worried about the new spirit in the black community, Williamson—often described as an old-style segregationist—has set up Project SAVE (Selma Area Voter Enlistment) to register, if possible, 1,000 white voters before summer.

"There will be some backlash [among whites] in terms of Jesse Jackson," Williamson said as he sat in the small Project SAVE office with maps of Selma and a newspaper clipping about Jackson invigorating Alabama black politics on the wall. "You see part of it right here. There are hundreds of whites who have never thought of registering."

Is it motivated by fear of a black mayor? "Sure, there's that fear. I venture 90 percent of blacks and whites are going to vote along racial lines. I believe they [blacks] will gain control of city government in 1988. I thought it would be 1988 before they made an effort, but Jackson is the reason. He's certainly had an effect, and depending on your views it's

beneficial or detrimental.

"I'm definitely interested in seeing whites maintain political control in the city. The election of blacks will have an adverse effect on schools, churches, industry, every facet of life. Many whites will leave. The tax base will be affected. Unless there's a dramatic reversal [in white population decline], in the next four years it might be necessary to figure out some kind of compromise."

Williamson, who will probably run for council president, has been a persistent, Reaganite critic of Mayor Smitherman, but will support him against Reese. Smitherman has many white enemies like Williamson who think he has given in too much to blacks, but Chestnut argues. "The only issue Joe has is 'will the niggers take over,' but he can't afford to do it publicly and can't lead it."

"What [Cecil Williamson] is doing will benefit me some," Smitherman acknowledged. "But I have no part in it. Some of what Ronald Major [the young black council member running for president] does will help me with the black community, such as his emotionalism, trying to relive the '60s. If Selma continues without high technology or industries that employ whites, there will definitely be a black majority soon. It will take a candidate who can win black support. I think if anyone can do it, I can."

The presidential primary race could also influence Smitherman's prospects. "I think Mondale versus Jackson is in some ways a prelude to Smitherman versus Reese," Chestnut said. "There are these black voters who have to face this thing of voting for a white over a black opponent. It would be far easier for a black to vote against Reese if he's already voted for Mondale over Jackson."

It appears that unions, which are miserably weak in this area, will have little influence. At the Ebony Fashion Fair touring Selma, I talked with two young workers from a uniform factory organized by the International Ladies Garment Workers Union who were undecided between Jackson and Mondale. Neither had heard a word about Mondale from their union, but they held it in contempt anyway. "They don't do anything," Hazel Mahen said.

Another union representative admitted that 10 days before the primary he still didn't have any Mondale literature, but hoped to start a campaign soon. Sanders claimed that black union members in Mobile were solidly for Jackson, and that at least one organizer admitted that while he campaigned for Mondale as his job, "I could never pull the lever against Jesse."

A small sampling of the crowd showed about half for Jackson, most of the remainder undecided, and one—a state trooper—definitely for Mondale. A similarly unscientific survey of white breakfast diners at Mr. Waffle restaurant showed little enthusiasm for anyone but Reagan, with a sprinkling of interest in Hart or Mondale. One "dyed-in-the-wool, plumb-up-to-my-ribs Democrat" who was once head of the largest Democratic club in the state admitted that between Mondale and Reagan, "I'd go with Reagan. Mondale is too close to organized labor, and I used to be in a union. Besides, I think he made a mess out of things while he was vice president."

Jackson's candidacy has at the least boosted the already developing black political movement in Selma, but no candidate showed signs of winning whites from their conservative ways. It is a world deeply divided by ideology despite a conservative overlay affecting everyone. Despite the great progress in black influence and race relations, it is also still a world deeply divided by race. The Jackson campaign and the local elections are reminders of attorney Chestnut's observation that "when you get in this neck of the woods, no matter what people say, race is not the second religion. It's the first." ■



## CONGRESS

# Morrison learns to make dissent sound patriotic

This is the fourth in a series of articles following Rep. Bruce Morrison during his first congressional term.

By Paul Bass

NEW HAVEN, CT

**R**ONALD REAGAN'S WASHINGTON hasn't changed Bruce Morrison's mind about the nuclear freeze or the not-so-covert war against Nicaragua's government. But it has driven home a rhetorical lesson: when you knock the president's military policies, do so in the name of Uncle Sam.

You can hear it in Morrison's speeches or read it in his public statements. Freezing the arms race, the Third District Democrat says, is essential for our national security—lest Americans find ourselves at the mercy of "trigger-happy" Soviets. Yet unlike many Congress members who voted for the freeze to placate constituents, Morrison hasn't turned around and voted for new weapons systems. Nor has he toned down his criticism of U.S. Central American policy or the stationing of Cruise and Pershing missiles in Europe.

Those issues are central in this year's bitter rematch between Morrison and former Republican Rep. Lawrence DeNardis, who is a staunch Reagan supporter. Morrison announced his bid for re-election on February 13.

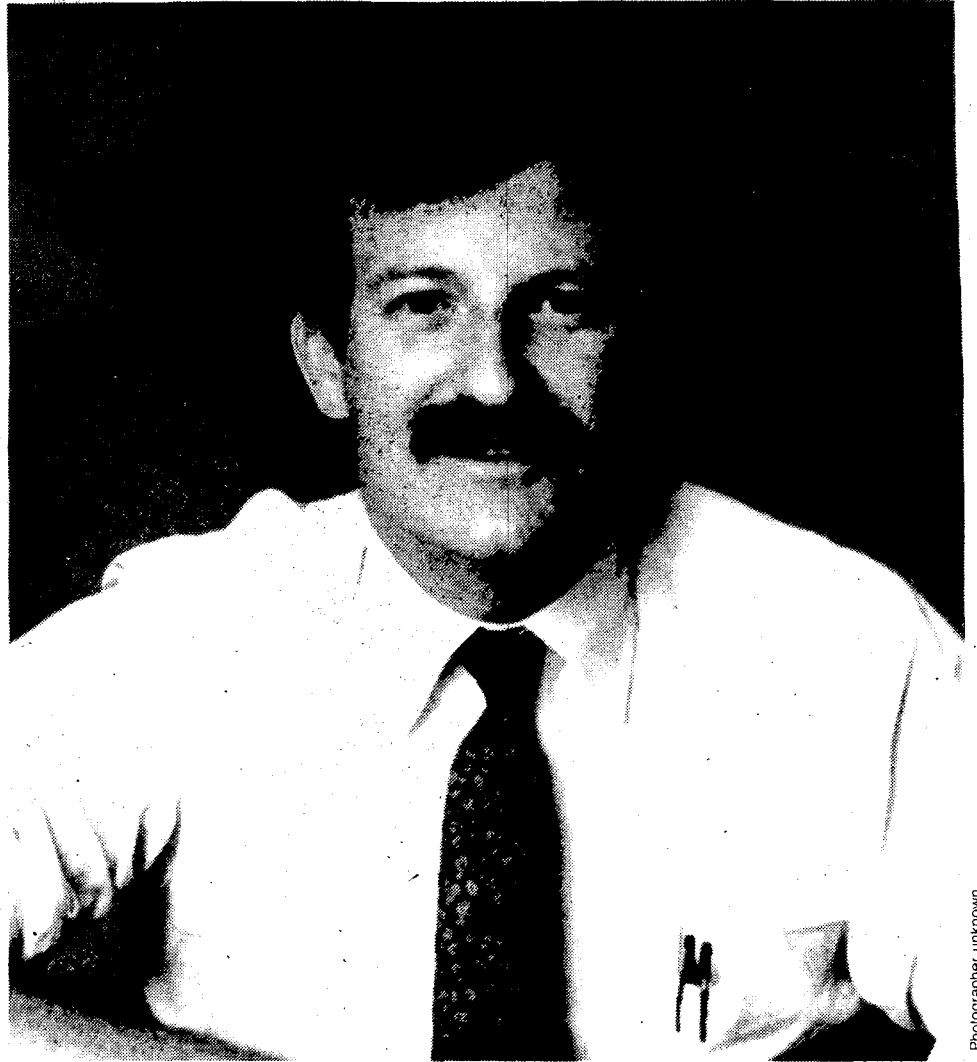
President Reagan and his supporters have called such opponents as Morrison Communist dupes. In turn, the opponents have tried to make dissent sound patriotic—an important and delicate task that Morrison has mastered, according to Greg Weaver, who monitors foreign policy issues on Capitol Hill for the watchdog group Americans for Democratic Action.

"It's more a matter of style than anything else," Weaver told *In These Times*. "He's done it in a very careful and responsible way. He doesn't sound un-American or in favor of increased Cuban influence. He said the MX is stupid on its own merits."

As a result, Weaver said, Morrison has already emerged in his first term as one of Reagan's most consistent and effective foreign and military policy foes in Congress.

The debate over the MX last fall provided a good example of Morrison's approach. In his October newsletter sent to Third District constituents, he linked the upcoming vote on the MX missile to the Soviet downing of Korean Airliner flight 007—much as Reagan himself did in a national address, when he successfully made a vote for the MX seem tantamount to a vote against the downing of the airliner.

Morrison picked up on Reagan's strategy. The section in his newsletter began



Photographer unknown

by excoriating the "Soviets' brutal attack. ...Americans are angry, shaken, frustrated. Some say the tragedy shows that we need to 'get tough' with the Soviets by building newer, bigger weapons systems," he wrote. But, he continued, further development of first-strike nuclear weapons will make a nuclear war seem winnable: "Surely trigger-happy Soviet pilots and military leaders are the last people we want to have first-strike weapons, with only seconds in which to make a decision to launch them."

Similarly, Morrison had Reagan's tactics in mind after last fall's U.S. invasion of Grenada. While most Democrats supported Reagan's invasion in fear of taking an unpopular stand during a "crisis," Morrison condemned the action at a rally on the New Haven Green the same week.

"There are those who will say, 'These are times to stand with the president,'" he told the 300 demonstrators present that day, referring as well to Reagan's commitment of troops in Lebanon. "But it is our obligation to speak out when we think the country is on the wrong path."

One of those people "standing behind the president" was, as usual, Lawrence DeNardis. While Morrison still has almost \$40,000 in campaign debts to pay off from 1982, DeNardis has aggressively sought Republican support and has repeatedly painted Morrison as unpatriotic in the hopes of winning back his seat in November.

Morrison's re-election bid has also been plagued by a slow start. As of last week he still had no campaign manager. And although the Democratic Party establishment is firmly behind him this time, it's unclear how hard the grassroots groups that enabled him to capture his seat in 1982 will work for his 1984 campaign.

Even Reagan himself, in claiming that the Soviet Union runs the freeze movement, has shown more restraint than DeNardis has. DeNardis has released a statement accusing Morrison of "knee-jerk criticism of everything the U.S. is doing abroad to protect itself and the free world from Soviet-Cuban-Arab/PLO-generated terrorism, subversion, sabotage and violence that threatens to undermine the open societies of the world."

DeNardis went on to say: "The major conflict of our age is the struggle between aggressive totalitarianism and the free way of life. And Bruce Morrison will invariably attack the U.S. for having the will, determination and patience to resist our adversaries, who in our absence would make their own arrangements in ways that would make the world a more

## Freeze Voter '84 considers his re-election one of the nation's most crucial races.

dangerous place."

For his part, Morrison downplays attacks on his patriotism. He says he does consider it "important to remind people" that democracy entails the right to express disagreement with government policy, since opponents such as DeNardis have questioned the patriotic nature of such dissent. But despite the Reagans and the DeNardises, Morrison maintains that the American public has grown much more receptive over the years to challenging notions of national security and national interests.

"Since 80 percent of the people agree with the freeze, Reagan has a hard time calling them all unpatriotic," Morrison says. "So he calls them dupes. We remember that from the '50s. Some people may be swayed by McCarthyist tactics—but I don't think most people will."

Marta Daniels agrees. A nuclear freeze campaign coordinator in Connecticut, Daniels believes Reagan has made the "McCarthyite tactics" of a few seem more legitimate now but that freeze advocates like Morrison have succeeded in convincing most people that "peace is patriotic."

"Anybody—let alone Bruce Morrison—who has those opinions and is articulate about them, will be attacked," Daniels says. "And the attack is always on patriotism. But Bruce has been very consistent in advocating sane policies to prevent nuclear war."

Still, some Reagan opponents remain worried. Bill Curry, who heads the new national political action committee called Freeze Voter '84, says he considers Morrison's re-election campaign among the crucial races in the country for the freeze movement.

But Morrison may find winning another term almost as difficult as tying military support for El Salvador's government to improvements in human rights. Whether he holds on to his seat may prove in part to be a test of whether attacking a Congressman's patriotism—rather than the substance of his or her views—still works in the '80s.

Paul Bass is an editor of *Cooperative News Service*.

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## ITALY

# Fragmented labor splits over Craxi's anti-inflation policies

By Diana Johnstone

P A R I S

**W**HETHER ON A MILESTONE or a tombstone, Feb. 7, 1984, is a date to stand in the history of Italian labor. On that day, the unity forged in the great labor battles of the late '60s between the three major union confederations was shattered as the CGIL failed to work out a common position with the CISL and the UIL. One week later, the CGIL itself split between its Communist majority and Socialist minority.

Union leaders split over whether or not to approve the Craxi Plan—a package of anti-inflationary measures for reducing labor costs that Prime Minister Bettino Craxi and his labor minister, fellow socialist Gianni De Michelis, were determined to impose on labor and management (represented by the industrialists' association Confindustria) in this winter's tripartite negotiations.

The government plan included deep cuts in the *scala mobile*, a "sliding scale" wage-indexation system designed to keep real wages in line with cost of living increases. Leaders of the Christian Democratic CISL (Italian Confederation of Labor Unions, about three million members) and the social democratic UIL (Italian Labor Union, less than one million) went along, convinced that labor is too weak these days to swing a better deal. Socialist spokesmen warned ominously that if Craxi failed, powerful "economic and political circles" would make Italian workers pay a much steeper price.

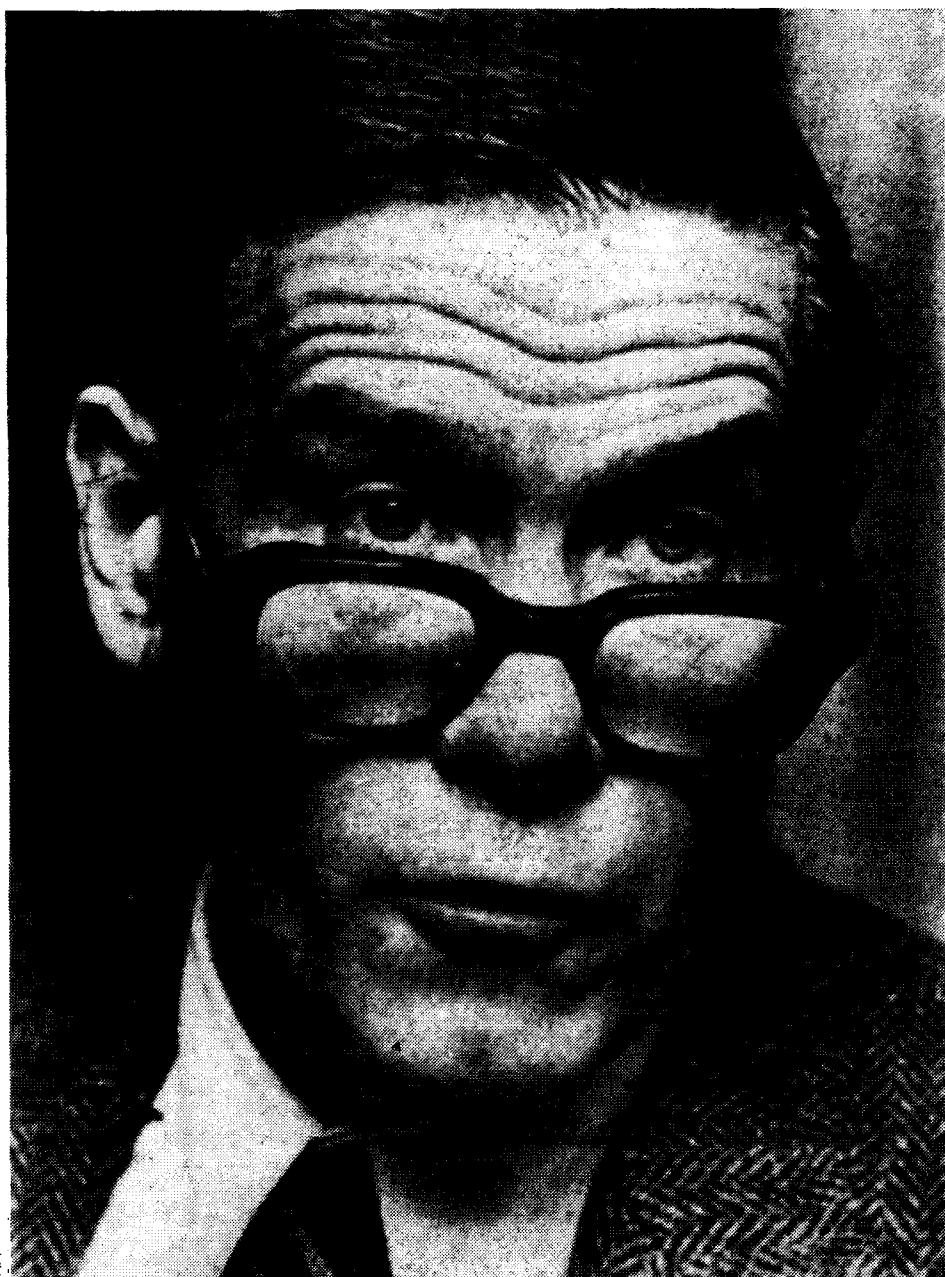
Communist leaders of the CGIL (General Confederation of Italian Labor, close to five million members) balked. General Secretary Luciano Lama said the CGIL would have been ready to sacrifice even more in terms of wages "if they had got something serious in return—the start of a real change in economic policy."

But since in the past Lama had accepted "sacrifices" without obtaining much in return—at a time when the Communist Party (PCI) was supporting the "national unity" government and displaying its "sense of responsibility" in hope of a share of power—the Communist labor leaders were open to accusations of partisan politics when they finally said "no" to further concessions. Most of the media joined pro-government politicians in blaming the labor split on the Communists. The PCI was accused of "self-isolation" in its feud with Craxi. CGIL leaders were accused of following PCI orders.

Lama challenged anyone to say that to his face, recalling indignantly that he was one of those "union leaders who have struggled hardest for union independence from parties, including my own."

Someone who has struggled even harder than Lama for union independence is Bruno Trentin, CGIL national secretary and former head of the metalworkers who led the unitary movement in the late '60s. Yet it was Trentin, more than anyone, who now refused to accept the terms laid down by Craxi. He often repeated that the issue was not the *scala mobile*. He succinctly summed up what the real issue was on February 7: "Today any agreement would be felt as a drama by our rank and file, like lambs being led to the slaughter."

The main reason Communist leaders of the CGIL rejected Craxi's terms was simply that acceptance would have been felt by the rank and file as a capitulation. To avoid this, Lama suggested putting the question to the national membership in a referendum, but CISL and UIL lead-



General Federation of Italian Labor Secretary Bruno Trentin believes "future union unity can only be rebuilt from the bottom up."

ers rejected this idea. CGIL leaders refused to sign an agreement they knew was unpopular.

Old left socialist labor leader Vittorio Foa commented, "The CGIL with its decision saved itself from a break with working people that could have become irreparable. It saved itself in *extremis*...."

If Trentin, the historic champion of unity, sounded almost relieved at the breakup, it was because Trentin is also the historic champion of the factory councils. Finally, the break at the top seemed necessary to try to save the factory council sort of union at the bottom. Saving the roots of the movement took precedence over the top branches.

## The decline of unity.

The Federative pact that linked the three confederations in 1972 was the culmination of the labor upsurge that grew through the prosperous '60s and culminated with the labor victories of 1969, 1970 and 1971. New rights won at the workplace made the factory councils possible. Especially among the metalworkers, the dynamic of victorious struggle created a sense of solidarity that swept aside the political divisions created by the Cold War, when the CISL and UIL were set up to weaken the Communist-led CGIL. Revolutionary enthusiasm spread through the whole labor movement, and often far leftists in the UIL or the CISL berated Communist leaders of the CGIL for their conservatism.

Twelve years later, it appears that the 1972 Federation was not, as it then seemed, the beginning of growing unity between the three confederations. Instead, it was the high point from which their unity would start its long decline.

In a February 23 interview in *il manifesto*, Trentin explained that the Federative pact fixed the dichotomy of the labor

movement—"bureaucratic in its leadership centers, participatory at the base." The top and bottom pulled in opposite directions. Trentin suggested that a labor movement like that could not come up with adequate responses to the new challenges of the past decade.

The Unitary Federation engaged in triangular contract bargaining between the state, management and labor that tended to get farther and farther from the rank and file. In entering into this triangle, labor leadership was implicitly looking toward a favorable political change that would make of the state a friendly partner. But such a project, Trentin said, has run out, and it is "the neocorporative pact" between labor and the state that is dying.

The past decade has seen a tremendous fragmentation of the Italian working class. There are workers in secure jobs

**Communist leaders rejected Craxi's wage-indexing plan simply because acceptance would have been seen by the rank and file as capitulation.**

covered by union contracts, workers in fiscally undeclared jobs with no rights or protection, workers with one legal and one illegal job, organized unemployed, unemployed in *cassa integrazione* being paid most of their wages by the state to do nothing so industry can restructure without them. The union, said Trentin, "responded to growing social segmentation and change by emphasizing its own centralized model."

Two years ago, UIL leader Giorgio Benvenuto said he got a "whiff of terrorism" when he spoke in factories. Confusion and disintegration at the base frightened union leaders, moving them to seek their own salvation in neocorporatist arrangements with the government that would at least save the union bureaucracy and give it a role in the strange new world emerging through unpredictable social and technological change.

## No salvation.

Trentin simply considers that such a salvation is no salvation at all, and that a labor movement without a real base would not fool anyone for long and would soon be wiped out. "No labor movement can go back to profiting from a representativity it no longer has because there is not a spontaneous and widespread solidarity between the real people it claims to represent," he said. "Therefore, future union unity can only be rebuilt from the bottom up." What has happened is that in the last 10 or 15 years, "if there has been a worldwide weakening of the natural compromise between wage-earners, it is also true that the world of wage-earners has grown enormously." So it is not historically accurate that the current worldwide union decline is due to sociological decline of the working class. "The problem, I repeat, is how to rebuild solidarity between people who work."

"The union is solidarity, it's a non-competition pact between wage-earners, it's the interest all have in standing together," said Trentin. "Today, the labor crisis lies in the fact that *union* is 'less convenient' for ever broader areas of working people, who do not feel involved in other working people's battles." The *scala mobile*, for instance, he said, is of no concern to either higher paid skilled workers, or to the unemployed, or people with precarious jobs. "In this balkanization of the working world, in short, the old slogan 'union makes us strong' is less true than it used to be." Unity must be rebuilt by a new movement starting from the grassroots that defines unifying objectives and grows by fighting for them.

With the unions split, Prime Minister Craxi put his plan into effect by decree on February 15. The *scala mobile* was reduced by about 30 percent, certain rates and prices were frozen for three months. It was the first time any Italian government had swept aside labor-management bargaining to decide income policy by decree. In all Italy's industrial centers, the factory councils immediately called protest strikes. In Milan, Turin, Venice and other cities, employees crowded into assemblies to discuss what must be done.

The government parties led by the Socialists and Christian Democrats and most of the media hammered away at the theme that the whole dispute was artificially created by the PCI in its partisan war against Craxi. The Italian Socialist Party (PSI) organ *Avanti!* wrote, "A labor union such as the Communists want does not cooperate in major economic decisions, but sees itself as an opponent of the democratically elected government."

In many ways, the labor split looked more serious—and more dangerous—than the Cold War split of 1948. For one thing, at that time the Socialists stood by the Communists in the CGIL. But this time, in the February 14 vote the CGIL executive split 76 to 43 against the Craxi Plan, along party lines. A CGIL Socialist, Enzo Ceremigna, called for a special CGIL congress that could lead to a Socialist walkout or perhaps to their continued presence as an institutionalized minority. Even Socialist Ottaviano Del Turco, the CGIL number two leader who

Continued on page 10



# Italy

Continued from page 9

for years has cooperated with Lama, said the differences were only political and attributed them to PCI hostility to the Craxi government.

His statement is partially true. Not all CGIL Communist leaders share Trentin's reasoning. Many believe that Craxi is gunning for them. Craxi has unmistakably built his political fortunes on his ability to do the Communists more harm than the Christian Democrats could. The PCI has been driven out of almost all the major left coalition municipal governments where it had a mayor depending on Socialist votes.

After getting the Cruise missiles to Comiso, Craxi turned to further improving his image as tough leader by hacking away at the *scala mobile*. The Communists were sure to suffer either way. If they agreed, they would be further alienated from their labor base. If they did not, they would be accused of the sins of Stalinism.

Evidently, CISL head Pierre Carniti hopes that anti-Communism provides a key to building his confederation into Italy's largest, after splitting and condemning the CGIL as a "Communist transmission belt." At a press conference approving Craxi's decree, Carniti claimed that "among Communists there prevails a Third International vision which rules

out the union ever being an autonomous political subject."

Carniti said the unity period that opened in 1972 was now closed and any future unity would have to be "competitive." Political observers suggested that Carniti saw his chance to make the CISL the spearhead of an anti-Communist populism that could enable the Christian Democratic Party (DC) to beat back the Craxi challenge.

But Adriano Serafino, a leader of the FIAT metalworkers in the battles of the late '60s, resigned as secretary of the Turin CISL in protest against Carniti's policies.

Officially, PCI policy is to seek a "democratic alternative," meaning a left coalition government with the Socialists. Craxi's triumphant anti-Communism has robbed that project of all credibility. But there is no other.

At a PCI leadership meeting, Alfredo Reichlin said the problem was the current PSI effort to take over the center by saying to the left, "Support me because that will enable me to defeat the DC," while at the same time saying to the right, "Support me because I can do things the DC couldn't get away with." Reichlin said the PCI did not seek confrontation with the PSI, since a break on the left was always dangerous, but had to "try to break up the competition between the DC and the PSI to see which can be worse, a competition that is wearing down the country, the democratic political system and those parties themselves.

"How can left unity be rebuilt without breaking up that game?" he asked. ■

# Debate

Continued from page 2

ran the risk of being shot. By mid-December, another poll showed that 34 percent of respondents unequivocally opposed Cruise and that 32 percent were in favor only if arms talks resumed. Fifty-two percent of all respondents disapproved of the way the government had handled Cruise deployment.

But not all of the Thatcher government's problems lie with the general public and the peace movement. The "independent" program is also causing difficulties. (Both the French and the British have independent possession of nuclear weapons that the Soviet negotiators want to see counted in the balance of power and the Americans do not. By decade's end, French and British nuclear arsenals will be formidable.) In 1980, the British government announced that it would be buying Trident C4s to replace its existing Polaris system. Originally, the cost of the submarine-based Trident was reckoned at around \$7 or \$8 billion. With the 1982 decision to purchase a more sophisticated version of the weapon, the D5, cost forecasts now put the bill at a minimum of \$15 billion. In a government-sponsored climate of penny pinching and cutbacks in social services, the Trident program continues to come under steady attack from the Labour Party, the Social Democratic Party (SDP), the Liberals and also

from within Conservative ranks.

Nor are the NATO allies pleased with British military policy, which is tying down an estimated 3,000 personnel, a squadron of Phantoms, four frigates and destroyers and probably a nuclear submarine in the Falklands, 8,000 miles away. The combination of an extravagant independent weapons system and a commitment of scarce conventional resources hardly dovetails with current NATO requirements: strong conventional refurbishing and low-level weaponry aimed at raising NATO's present nuclear threshold, which is reached on one estimate within 72 hours of a conflict starting up in central Europe. The Thatcher government will be wrestling with these and other difficulties for some time to come.

Meanwhile, the operational Cruise missiles at Greenham Common are spiked. Full working order for Cruise involves periodic moving of launchers to sites outside the base. The Greenham women—who have recently had their tents removed—have kept the base under siege.

That peace is "an idea," and a persuasive one, is something Caspar Weinberger apparently understands. At the Oxford Union, he stressed the virtue of the American system, in which ideas could be debated and change effected. But the British taste for a fetid atmosphere of closed doors and official secrecy—Thompson called it "an obsession"—means that the very thought of committed positions being taken up on defense questions by ordinary members of the public is in itself a kind of heresy. Which, in large measure, is why the Greenham women currently holding Cruise inside the base perimeter are so often burned at the stake of government pronouncements and an officious popular press. In Weinberger's world of ideas, the repercussions for protesters at Greenham may well be more material when the first launcher convoy attempts to leave the base. ■

Jeremy Harding is a reporter for *Pacific* in London.

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# Dems

Continued from page 3

fense League picketed and tried to shout down Jackson at public meetings. The Anti-Defamation League of B'nai Brith, which is specifically dedicated to fighting anti-Semitism, published a "fact sheet" on Jackson in which statements by Jackson that might be construed as anti-Semitic were listed alongside expressions of his foreign policy in the Mideast. By implying that opposition to Israeli policy toward the Palestinians is "anti-Semitic," such "fact sheets" constitute a form of political harassment. Such a charge is tantamount to accusing a politician who opposes busing of being a racist, simply on the basis of that opposition.

But the issue blew up in Jackson's face and vindicated the concerns of the ADL when Jackson denied and then admitted that he had used the terms "Hymie" and "Hymietown" in referring to Jews and New York City in a discussion with a *Washington Post* reporter. Jackson's use of the derogatory term seriously damaged the moral appeal of his candidacy. It also set up a difficult dynamic within the Democratic Party.

While Jackson always expected to draw most of his votes from blacks, the success of his appeal hinged upon his being seen not as a representative of black interests, but as the representative of a particular political and moral interest. In this capacity, he could hope to win programmatic concessions and perhaps promises of cabinet and staff positions for blacks at the Democratic convention. But while Jackson's anti-Semitic statement or statements may not cost him votes in the Southern primaries, they will raise the cost to any Democratic nominee of making a public agreement with Jackson for his support.

At present, it is difficult to imagine a Democrat winning with Jackson's support or without it. ■



## IRAN

By Fred Halliday

# Khomeini's offensive aims at war in Iraq, dissent at home

**T**HE AYATOLLAH KHOMEINI has celebrated the start of his sixth year in power by making a dramatic attempt to break the deadlock in the greatest problem facing his regime, the drawn-out war with Iran's western neighbor, Iraq. Iran has several advantages in the war—three times its enemy's population, much larger oil revenues and a reserve of young people apparently willing to die in large numbers for Khomeini's cause.

Since Iranian forces crossed into Iraq in 1982, the Iraqis have been gradually losing ground, and there have been rumors that the Baghdad regime may soon collapse in the face of attack from without and exhaustion from within. Yet Iran has suffered between 100,000-500,000 casualties (figures cannot be verified) and has been unable to inflict decisive defeat upon what it terms Iraq's "Zionist" regime.

Khomeini's forces have now launched a major spring offensive, involving attacks along several points on the 700-mile front. Two weeks ago, Iran came close to advancing into Basra, a key Iraqi port. And Tehran radio says its forces are now performing their ritual ablutions in the waters of the Tigris and the Euphrates rivers.

But Iraq is now armed with Soviet and French missiles. It can use them either to attack Iranian cities already subject to considerable bombardment or to attempt to cut off the oil exports, which Iran's economy and war effort depends upon. Iran has on many occasions issued this threat: if Iraq hits its oil exports, it will retaliate, either by blocking the mouth of the Persian Gulf or by assaults upon other such Arab oil-producing states as Saudi Arabia. Iran hopes that these other states, fearful for their security, will restrain Iraq.

But the Iranian threat may turn out to be not as decisive as Tehran pretends. If Iran blocks the Persian Gulf, it will harm itself as much as other states in the region. Tehran would be deprived of the possibility of restarting oil exports. And the Straits of Hormuz at the mouth of the Gulf are now easy to block. They are wide and deep, and the 15-ship U.S. task force nearby, including minesweepers and an aircraft carrier with marines aboard, could quickly be deployed to break any Iranian blockade.

Indeed, the very fact that the Iraqis would like the U.S. to get involved is one

**The war—a means of diverting attention from the failings of the republic—has become Khomeini's crusade.**

reason why the Iranians may be reluctant to step up their war effort.

The war has now gone on for 42 months. The Iranians obviously think that time is on their side. They have realized that their initial hope of an Islamic uprising inside Iraq will not work. Even the more traditional Shi'ite religious leaders, such as Ayatollah Khomeini, do not want Khomeini's rule to extend to Iraq. Neither on national nor on religious grounds do they want to become part of an extended Islamic republic. And they know too well what Khomeini did to those conservative ayatollahs inside Iran who helped him to power but then tried to temper his policies.

Instead, the Iranians are turning to a war of attrition, one all too reminiscent of the slaughter of World War I. Using waves of teenage boys to clear minefields and assault groups of soldiers on Japanese motorbikes who attack at night, they have developed new, if costly tactics that are designed to wear the Iraqis down. The war—a means of diverting attention from the failings of the Islamic republic at home—has become a crusade upon which the fate of Khomeini's regime increasingly rests.

Khomeini's dogged pursuit of the war abroad has been matched by sustained repression at home. Opposition has been battered down from its 1981 peak of urban and ethnic opposition. The Mojahedin guerrillas maintain a low-level presence in the Persian cities, but their organization has been hit badly by executions, torture and mass arrests. Thousands of its supporters have been interned in Islamic re-education centers where they are forced to chant pro-Khomeini slogans all day.

In the Kurdish mountains to the west, the Islamic Guards have waged a savage but rather successful counter-insurgency campaign and have reimposed government control on most of the region. The Kurdish resistance—in the socialist Kurdish Democratic Party and the more radical left Komeleh—has had to abandon the villages and territory it held since the 1979 revolution in the face of air attacks and chemical warfare aimed at the civilian population.

It has partially withdrawn its forces to Iraq and is working hard to ensure an agreement between Iraqi Kurds of the Patriotic Union of Kurdistan and the Baghdad government. Such an alliance in its rear would greatly strengthen the ability of the Kurdish movement in Iraq to retake the initiative.

The character of the Iranian opposition appears to have changed over the past year. There are repeated reports of a rise in semi-overt monarchist sympathy among the middle classes of the towns. This reflects not so much support for the pretender, Mohammad Reza Pahlavi II, son of the late Shah, who lives in exile in Morocco. Rather, it is a way of expressing nostalgia for the prosperity and order of the pre-revolutionary days. On one oc-

casion last year, appeals from royalist radio brought thousands of people in their cars into a mass, but unspoken, protest traffic jam.

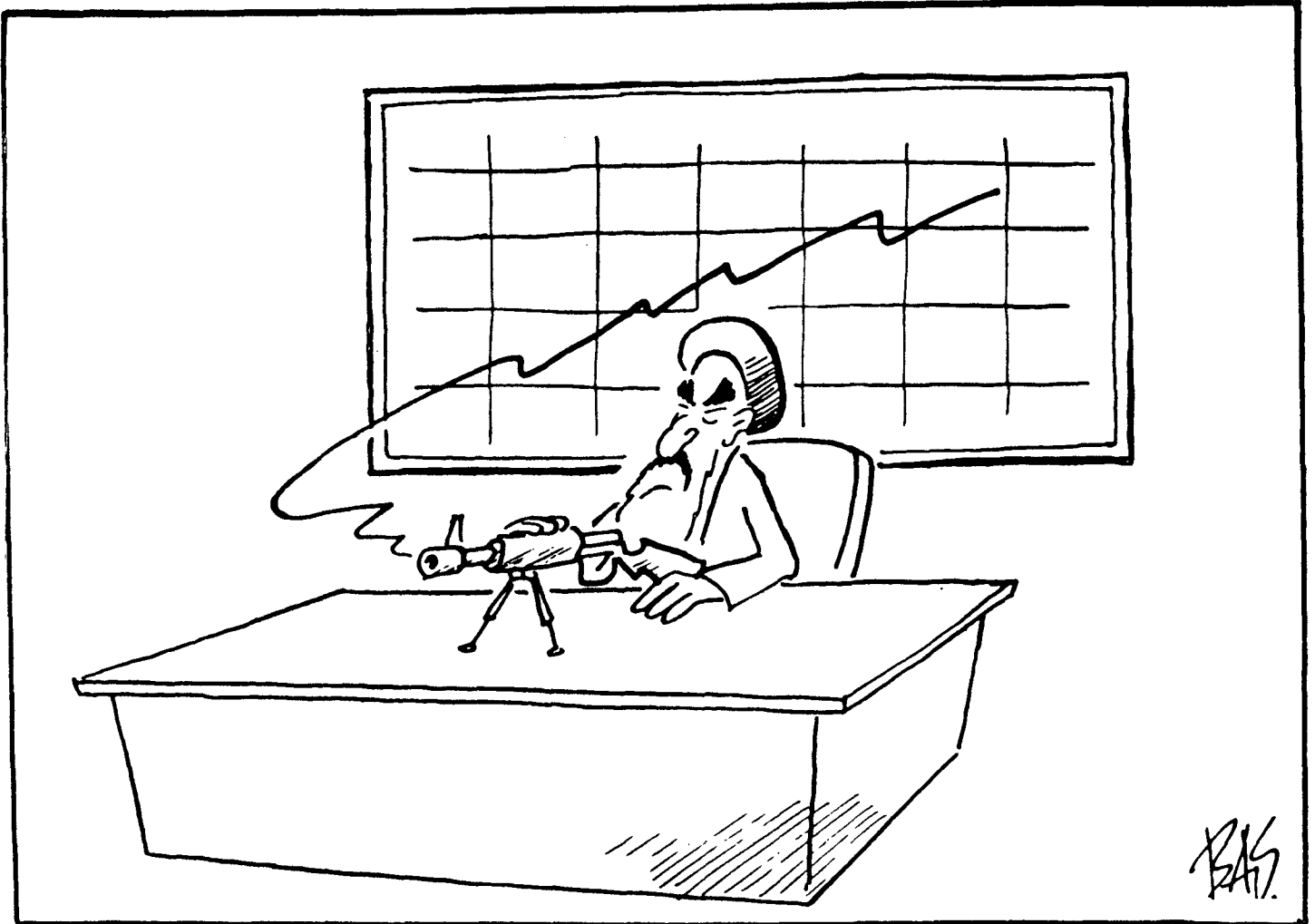
The other development is the government's repression of the Tudeh Party, the pro-Soviet Communist party that had until early 1983 supported the regime. According to Tudeh sources, up to 10,000 party members and sympathizers have been arrested, and the government claims it has seized 80 percent of the membership. Some have been shot secretly, while others have been forced to appear on television to renounce Marxism and call on their followers to embrace Islam. The spectacular "confessions" of the Tudeh leadership—for which the only precedent in the history of the Communist movement were the Moscow show trials of the '30s—have been the public face of what has been a relentless and brutal campaign by the regime to break it. For many of the middle classes, to whom the secular, Stalinist line of the Tudeh is preferable to the vague Islamic slogans of the Mojahedin, this development has further confirmed the gap between them and the Khomeini regime.

The Tudeh Party has reacted by holding a meeting, its Eighteenth Plenum, in East Germany and by announcing a new line: denunciation of the reactionary nature of the regime, though not of Khomeini, support for the Kurdish and Mojahedin oppositions, whom they had previously scorned, and appeals for a united front against the clerical dictatorship. This has been accompanied by a shift in Soviet policy. While the USSR was prepared to ignore Iranian protests at policy in Afghanistan, the repression of the Tudeh Party has provoked a barrage of criticism from the USSR and a propaganda battle between the two countries. While Tehran radio now calls on the Muslims of Central Asia to rise up, Moscow is supplying Iraq with much of the military materiel it is using to bombard Iranian cities.

The West has reacted ambiguously to these developments. While European and Japanese business people have returned to Iran in large numbers, the U.S. and France have sided more openly with Iraq than ever before. They see the threat that Khomeini's radicalism poses to the oil producers of the Arabian Peninsula—a threat exemplified in the Kuwait bombings last December. They also detect an Iranian hand in the bombings and upheavals of Lebanon.

Although there is no immediate prospect of replacing Khomeini with a pro-Western regime, this remains the long-run aim of Western policy.

*Fred Halliday's latest book is The Making of the Second Cold War.*



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By John B. Judis

## MISSILES

# IMPOSSIBLE

**A**merica has always been greatest when we dared to be great. We can follow our dreams to distant stars, living and working in space for peaceful, economic and scientific gain," President Ronald Reagan declared in his January 25 State of the Union speech.

But the Reagan administration's plans for what it calls the "next frontier" are anything but peaceful. According to David Deudney of the Worldwatch Institute, close to 75 percent of the National Aeronautics and Space Administration (NASA) budget is devoted to military rather than civilian uses of space. Recent military policy statements have assigned outer space a major role in American war-fighting plans.

The Pentagon's "Five-Year Defense Guidance" for 1984-88 called for the U.S. to develop the capability to "wage war effectively" from outer space and to "project force in and from space." The Air Force's 1983 "Space Master Plan" predicts that the U.S. will advance from using satellites to assist military combat on Earth to a second phase of "space combat."

In the fiscal year 1985 budget, submitted the week after the President's State of the Union speech, the administration projected a five-year \$25 billion program to develop an anti-ballistic missile (ABM) system that could destroy enemy missiles in outer space. The administration's plan, if acted upon, will abrogate the 1972 ABM treaty with the Soviet Union and both accelerate and potentially destabilize the nuclear arms race.

Supporters of what the administration calls its "strategic defense initiatives" have billed the new ABM system and anti-satellite weapons as harbingers of peace, which will remove the threat of nuclear war. Sen. William Armstrong (R-Colo.) and Rep. Ken Kramer (R-Colo.) titled their bill to encourage the new ABM systems the "People Protection Act of 1983." But opponents of the new systems, including a host of prominent American scientists, believe, in the words of Richard Garwin and Carl Sagan, that "the testing or deployment of any weapons in space significantly increases the likelihood of warfare on Earth."

### PAX AMERICANA.

The administration's new strategic defense plan includes some programs, like that for a land-based ABM that will shoot down incoming missiles, that were begun in the '50s, and others, like that for an anti-satellite weapon (ASAT), begun in the late '70s under the Carter administration. Only the plan to develop an ABM system that destroys enemy missiles in outer space was specifically initiated by the Reagan administration. How it first came to the Reagan administration's attention reveals something about the strategic assumptions that surround the entire ABM plan.

In October 1977, Maxwell Hunter, a space engineer at Lockheed Missiles and Space Co., who had helped design the space shuttle and who had served on President Kennedy and Johnson's National Space Council, wrote a paper titled "Strategic Dynamics and Space-Laser Weaponry." Hunter's paper is widely credited with sparking initial interest in space-based ABMs.

*Business Week* said of Hunter's paper, "More than any other single catalyst, his paper touched off today's space war debate."

(I was first given the paper in early 1978 by an arms control lobbyist who didn't understand its significance any more than I did. In an *In These Times* article that year, I cited it as an example of the crackpot lunacy that persists at the fringes of the military. But the Reagan administration has converted more than one seeming fool into an apparent wise man.)

Much of Hunter's paper was devoted to explaining how lasers could be used in outer space to intercept enemy missiles.

WASHINGTON

But Hunter was not interested merely in the technology of space lasers. He contended that these new ABM systems would allow the U.S. to abandon the nuclear strategy of mutually assured destruction (MAD), which Hunter described as a "balance of terror," for deterrence based upon American nuclear superiority.

American nuclear superiority achieved through a successful ABM system would also replace the balance of power and terror between the U.S. and Soviet Union with unchallenged American world rule. The U.S. would dominate the world even more clearly than Britain had during the 19th century. "This would be Pax Americana, with an effectiveness and flexibility never dreamed of in the centuries of Pax Britannia," Hunter boasted (see accompanying story).

Hunter's paper created a sensation at the Pentagon when it was circulated, but Hunter's most important initial recruit was Wyoming Republican Senator Malcolm Wallop, who discovered Hunter's paper in early 1979. Hunter told *Business Week*, "I walked into the senator's office and found him reading my paper. He looked up and in effect said, 'By God, we're going to do something to defend this country.'"

Wallop recruited former astronaut Harrison Schmitt, who was then a Republican Senator from New Mexico, and together they talked to Reagan, both before and after the 1980 election, about a space-based ABM system. They are given principal credit for winning Reagan over to the idea. But other influences were also impinging on Reagan's mind.

Edward Teller, the father of the hydrogen bomb, was developing his own laser ABM system. One of Teller's disciples, George A. Keyworth, became Reagan's science advisor. Retired Gen. Daniel Graham, a favorite on the New Right, began marketing his own ABM system, called "high frontier," which relied on projectiles fired from space stations. Graham won over the Heritage Foundation and key members of Reagan's "kitchen cabinet," Adolf Coors and the late Justin Dart.

There was initial resistance to the idea within the Pentagon. A 1981 Defense Science Board found that "it is too soon to attempt to accelerate [space-based laser] development toward any mission, particularly for ballistic missile defense." But Reagan and the ABM supporters were able to win over Defense Secretary Caspar Weinberger. In a March 23, 1983, speech, which took the Pentagon's bureaucracy by surprise, Reagan gave the final go-ahead to the new "strategic defensive initiatives."

In his televised address, Reagan gave no hint of Hunter's plan for a new Pax Americana. The purpose of the new ABM system would be entirely benign. "What if a free people could live secure in the knowledge that their security did not rest upon the threat of instant U.S. retaliation to deter a Soviet attack, that we could intercept and destroy strategic ballistic missiles before they reached our own soil or that of our allies?" Reagan asked the American public.

### STAGGERING COSTS.

In the wake of Reagan's speech, two new Pentagon panels were formed to study the ABM plan. The panels' members, who were drawn from the Pentagon and from Pentagon contractors, took an "optimistic view" of the ABM plan. But one Pentagon official admitted to the *National Journal*, "No one is about to say, 'Ron, this is a dumb idea.'"

The Pentagon studies outlined a framework for proceeding with the ABM. They largely rejected Graham's High Frontier plan as both too expensive and vulnerable to Soviet counter-measures, but they accepted his three-tier concept of missile defense. The first tier would be based in space and would attempt to destroy Soviet missiles in their boost phase, before they had discharged their multiple and independently targeted warheads. The panels recommended research on X-ray lasers, chemical lasers and particle beams.

The second tier would consist of heat-seeking warheads—similar to those used in anti-satellite weapons—that would destroy the enemy warheads before they re-entered the atmosphere. The third tier would consist of land-based missiles that would destroy the warheads once they re-entered the atmosphere.

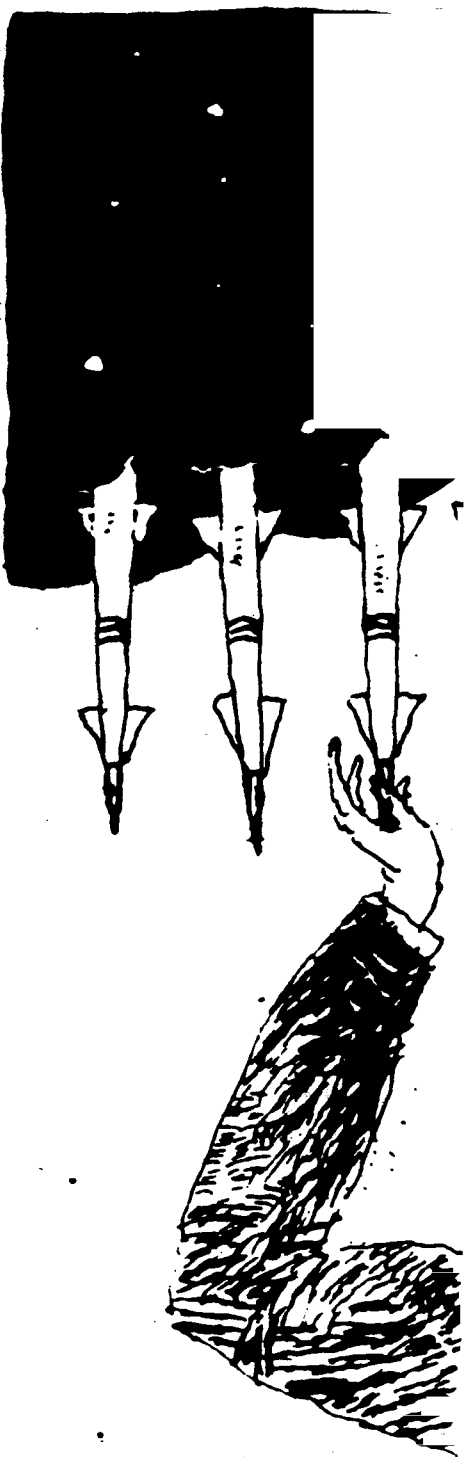
In the administration's 1985 budget requested \$2.1 billion for "strategic defense initiatives." But according to John Pike of the Federation of American Scientists, parts of the administration's strategic defense plan are scattered throughout the budget. Pike estimates that the administration will spend \$3.4 billion in 1985 on strategic defense and \$43 billion over the next five years.

According to an interagency report on the ABM that incorporated the findings of the two Pentagon defense panels, the total cost of the production and deployment of the three-tiered system would be about \$92-94 billion—more than three times the projected cost of the MX missile system. Other estimates range as high as \$300 billion.

In his November 10 testimony before the House Armed Services Committee, Richard De Lauer, defense undersecretary for research and engineering, warned that the costs would easily exceed those of past space programs, including the Apollo moon program. "This is multiple of Apollo programs," De Lauer said, warning that Congress would be "staggered at the cost."

### TREATY GAP.

The administration's ABM plan has already encountered opposition both in Congress and the scientific community. Opponents of the plan have warned that it could not only set off a new arms race but also prompt one side or the other—presumably the Soviets, because they are behind—to attempt a pre-emptive nuclear strike against an ABM system and thereby set off a full-scale nuclear war. Congress, concern has been particularly directed at whether the administration





plans amount to an abrogation of the 1972 ABM treaty.

The 1972 treaty was part of the SALT agreement, based upon the assumption of mutual deterrence. While allowing each side two sites (later reduced to one), it forbade the deployment of additional systems and the "development, testing or deployment of ABM systems that are sea-based, air-based, space-based or mobile land-based."

At the February 1 hearings of the Senate Armed Services Committee, Maine Republican William Cohen asked Weinberger whether he thought the new ABM system was potentially destabilizing. Weinberger insisted that the Soviet Union had already violated the spirit, if not the letter, of the 1972 agreement.

"If this were a perfect world and the other side did what they promised to do, which they have not done, then you might say if both sides in a totally verifiable way concentrated on giving up defensive systems, there might be some justification to it," Weinberger said. "But to rely on that theoretical concept and pay no attention to what they are doing is a strategic mistake."

Weinberger denied that the research and development money being allotted for the "strategic defense initiatives" amounted to a violation of the 1972 agreement. "We are certainly not ready to deploy or to research," Weinberger told Cohen. Weinberger also dismissed Soviet Premier Yuri Andropov's August 1983 offer to negotiate a ban on all space weapons. "We don't have any way to reach agreement to reduce arms unless we enter negotiations from a position of strength," Weinberger said. "We can't sit down at a table from a position of inferiority and reach a verifiable agreement."

But most ABM systems' opponents believe that Weinberger's arguments from American inferiority are strictly for public consumption. *Science* magazine reported that only last year the Pentagon's De Lauer released a report showing that

the U.S. is equal to the Soviet Union in directed energy technology, but "superior in virtually every other technology needed to fashion a working anti-ballistic missile system, including computers, optics, automated control, electro-optical sensors, microelectronics, propulsion, radar, signal processing, software, telecommunications, and guidance systems."

It seems likely that the Reagan administration is pushing ahead with its ABM program and ignoring Soviet offers to negotiate because it wants to press its advantage rather than overcome its inferiority. Referring to the military space program, the 1984-88 Pentagon "Defense Guidance" states that the administration "must insure that treaties and agreements do not foreclose opportunities to develop these capabilities."

The administration has also had to face opposition from scientists who believe that the kind of ABM system described by Reagan and Weinberger, which would be "thoroughly reliable and total," is impossible. Few scientists doubt that a system could be built that screens out a majority of Soviet warheads. But if the system were 99 percent effective, it would still allow 100 of the Soviets' 10,000 warheads to penetrate American defenses.

According to scientist Richard Garwin, these 100 warheads could "surely destroy the United States [or the Soviet Union] as a functioning nation." Even if only .1 percent got through, those 10 warheads could inflict a "disaster beyond the experience of any nation."

Garwin and other scientists cite a wide variety of means, from space mines to missile decoys, by which the Soviet Union could prevent an ABM system from functioning adequately. Scientist Daniel Kaplan, writing in the *Bulletin of Atomic Scientists*, concluded in his own study of laser defenses, "A laser defense probably would be little more than another element in the sort of nuclear balance of terror that exists today."

The skeptics on this point range far afield politically, from scientists like Sagan, Garwin, Hans A. Bethe and Phillip Morrison, usually identified with the arms control left, to Berkeley physicist Charles Townes, who headed Weinberger's 1981 MX panel. Townes told the *National Journal* that an ABM system could not succeed against "a determined adversary. ... I don't think anyone has to be worried about this leading to a large-scale deployment in space for defensive purposes."

But faced with the nearly unanimous opposition of reputable academic scientists, none of whom were asked to serve on the 1983 Pentagon ABM panels, why is the administration going ahead with the ABM program?

One reason, of course, is that Reagan was convinced by Hunter, Graham and others of its ultimate feasibility. But another reason is that, short of total success, an ABM system could still serve an important function for the U.S. in the nuclear arms race.

Reagan's science advisor Keyworth suggested some of the uses of ABM research in a speech last October to the Armed Forces Communications and Electronics Association. Keyworth contended in his speech that the American ABM effort would cause the Soviet Union to skewer its own military spending to keep pace. He also argued that if the U.S. could achieve a "visible proof of progress" in ABM development, it could force the Soviet Union to sign an arms control agreement on terms favorable to the U.S. (The Reagan administration has sought during the START talks to get the Soviets to give up their advantage in land-based ICBMs without the U.S. giving up its advantage in submarine-launched missiles.)

"Such a demonstration would pressure the Soviets to take our arms reduction proposal much more seriously than they do now," Keyworth said. "Although the strategic defense program's

Continued on page 22

## THE DREAM

Maxwell W. Hunter's paper, "Strategic Dynamics and Space-Laser Weaponry," dated October 31, 1977, initiated the discussion of a space-based anti-ballistic missile system. Much of Hunter's strategic vision has now been reproduced in the articles and speeches given in favor of the administration's "strategic defense initiatives." But some of Hunter's reasoning remains part of the private language of nuclear arms strategists. The following is excerpted from this paper:

"Ideally, it would be nice not to fight. Realistically, the human race has not evolved even close to that wishful goal. If one must fight it would be desirable to fight decisive strategic battles in an area where no human lived. Space is that arena.... To maintain space as a sanctuary from war, thereby insuring that if the weapons are unleashed they will all detonate where the humans live, is a cruel genocidal hoax. But war can be attracted to the space environment only if the space forces must be confronted in space to ensure victory. To force hostilities into space, the space forces must be capable of dominating or at least strongly upsetting the opposing earth-bound strategic force balance...

"A doctrine which has periodically been suggested as a policy of the U.S. is to retreat to a Fortress America to resolve our various difficulties throughout the world.... With a space-based concept, as indicated here, Fortress America would be neither defeatism nor a retreat to isolationism. In the grand strategic sense, the heavily armed space weapon system is capable of interacting strongly with sea, air and land forces throughout the globe, even though all of its bases are only in home territory, in fact, perhaps deep in the zone of the interior.... The term should not be Fortress America. This would be Pax Americana, with an effectiveness and flexibility never dreamed of in the centuries of Pax Britannia."

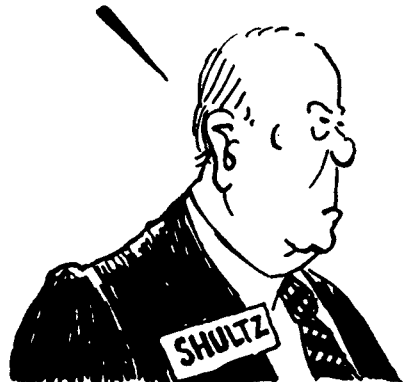
—J.B.J.





## EDITORIAL

THE NICARAGUAN REGIME IS A DANGEROUS  
AND SUBVERSIVE FORCE IN THE  
REGION



AND NEGOTIATE  
WITH THE  
OPPOSITION



BUT THAT'S WHAT  
THEY JUST  
ANNOUNCED



WE WILL NOT ACCEPT THEM UNTIL THEY'RE  
WILLING TO FORSWEAR FOREIGN ARMS,  
ADVISORS AND ADVENTURES...



SEE HOW DEVISIVE  
THEY ARE



WASSERMAN

## The buried issue in Central America

Nowhere is the cynical dissimulation of the Reagan administration's policy on Central America more apparent than in its attitude toward elections in El Salvador and Nicaragua. Hailing the pointless elections in El Salvador as "a practical yardstick of democracy," Secretary of State George Shultz declines (in the words of the *New York Times*) to say that the United States will stop supporting the *contras* in Nicaragua should the Sandinistas be confirmed in power by an honest election on November 4.

For Shultz, the March 25 El Salvador election is a model of democracy because it will be "swarming" with observers—indeed, Shultz told the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, there will be "more observers than voters." But in El Salvador, as the *Wall Street Journal* (February 27) reports, the reason for the swarming is clear. It is an exercise in Reagan-style media hype, an election that "many citizens" see as "a meaningless exercise undertaken more to please the 'Yanquis' than to improve conditions." As one citizen quoted by the *Wall Street Journal* observes, "They're having this election for propaganda. Because the United States wants it. Because that's the way Ronald Reagan will send us money."

But the election will make little difference inside El Salvador, as the *Wall Street Journal* notes, because no matter who wins, the army will hold and exercise power. A victory by Jose Napoleon Duarte may lead to a coup. A victory by Roberto d'Aubuisson will only strengthen the death squads.

On all this, Shultz says only that the administration agrees with Congress on the need (as the *New York Times* puts it) "to end death squad activities in El Salvador and to foster a better criminal justice system"—as if the death squads were simply an informal way of cracking down on law breakers.

No such magnanimity for the Sandinistas. Their regime is "resisted" by the *con-*

*tras*, Shultz told the Senate Committee "because it betrayed its own revolution"—which, of course, the United States opposed anyway. In Nicaragua, he said, "the elections are one thing," but "there are many aspects of Nicaraguan behavior that are incompatible...with the kind of world we would like to see down there." A world, presumably, where death squads are seen as a form of criminal justice, and, therefore, where all opponents of the murderous regime in El Salvador are seen simply as criminal.

And that, of course, is the point. In the eyes of the Reagan administration, any attempt to overthrow the oppressive oligarchies of various Third World countries—and especially those in Latin America—is seen as a criminal conspiracy directed from abroad for the purpose of strengthening the world power of the Soviet Union and weakening the world power of the United States. So the bottom line is that it doesn't matter how many elections the Nicaraguans have, or how open and democratic they are. And it doesn't matter how irrelevant the El Salvador elections are or how active the death squads are. As long as Reagan is in office, we will support the oligarchs and oppose the revolutionaries.

### An old story.

But there is nothing new in this. The Reagan administration is clearly more aggressive, more openly on the side of the reactionary military oligarchs and more hostile to the democratic aspirations of the people of Central America and other Third World nations than most recent administrations. But Reagan's policies are not much different in principle than those of his predecessors. And they are not opposed in principle by his loyal opposition in Congress, or by the leading contenders for the Democratic presidential nomination.

In Congress, even the liberals who have tried to whittle down the amount of aid proposed for El Salvador by the admini-

stration, or who have tried to stop, or restrict, Reagan's overtly covert war against Nicaragua, collapse when Secretary Shultz gets annoyed at their hinderance. In one such exchange last week, Shultz angrily declared, "I really don't understand you people. Here we have an area right next to us that a cross section of Americans on a bipartisan commission have studied carefully—really worked at it—and concluded it is in the vital interests of the United States... Now you're telling me that because there are problems, let's walk away."

"No, no," responded Rep. Sidney Yates (D-Ill.).

A similar exchange took place with Rep. David R. Obey (D-Wis.), who backed off from saying that negotiations should be encouraged in El Salvador between the rebels and the government.

But, of course, we should walk away. Or, rather, we should never have been there in the first place. Recently, many liberals and neoliberals have been saying that the supposed "lesson of Vietnam"—that we were "on the wrong side"—is wrong. In *Newsweek*, Meg Greenfield asks: "Were those now running the country 'the right side'?" But this misses the point. We were not on the wrong side—we were the wrong side.

In Vietnam, after the French lost the battle of Dien Bien Phu, the United States set up the South Vietnamese government that it supported in the ensuing civil war. Similarly, in Nicaragua, the *contras* could not have existed as a military force without encouragement and direction from the United States. And in El Salvador, as in Guatemala, the government could not have come to power and would not last long without overt or covert aid from the CIA and the administration.

Everyone who takes the trouble to think about it knows that Reagan administration talk about supporting democracy in Central America is the sheerest and most cynical hypocrisy. But in a showdown, Reagan is supported by most

liberals, some of whom may actually believe that democracy is the issue in Central America, and that the U.S. is on its side. The real issue in Central America, however, is not democracy but self-determination and national independence—without which democracy is impossible in any case. As in Vietnam, where the Vietnamese people first defeated French imperialism only to have to fight American imperialism for another 20 years, the people of Nicaragua and El Salvador are engaged in a struggle that is at bottom one for their own national sovereignty. If they cannot win that fight, they will never have a democracy.

### Intervention is the issue.

That does not mean that the Sandinistas or the El Salvador rebels are democrats in the sense in which most Americans understand that term. We do believe that they represent the best hope for democracy in Central America. But even if we didn't we would oppose intervention by the United States, just as we would oppose intervention in our own country by any foreign power claiming to be acting in our best interests.

The underlying issue in Central America is not whether the Sandinistas have betrayed their own revolution, or whether the rebels in El Salvador and elsewhere are democrats. It is whether the United States, or any other country, has the right to determine for others what kind of society they will have. Yet this issue is virtually non-existent in public discourse.

In the coming election it should be a major focus of discussion. Democrats who oppose Reagan and his policies should be forced to confront this issue, not the ones framed by the administration. That is the lesson of Vietnam, where too many innocent liberals for too long were sucked into the debate on the wrong terms. Central America could well be another Vietnam. It would be better to prevent that than to live with its consequences.



# LETTERS

**In These Times** is an independent newspaper committed to democratic pluralism and to helping build a popular movement for socialism in the United States. Our pages are open to a wide range of views on the left, both socialist and non-socialist. Except for editorial statements appearing on the editorial page, opinions expressed in columns and in feature or news stories are those of the author and are not necessarily those of the editors. We welcome comments and opinion pieces from our readers.

## PARADOX

ROBIN BATES' LETTER AND YOUR REPLY (ITT, Feb. 8) hit on the fundamental paradox of the USSR: it is an autocracy with an enlightened social philosophy. Thus in the same country dissidents are sent to gulags and genuine progress in sexual equality and general welfare is made. On the day-to-day level the power of the state is enforced by various sorts of uniformed bullies whose only pleasure sometimes seems to be to shout "This is forbidden!" at hapless citizens; yet Russians openly break minor rules every chance they get. Russia is neither a socialist nor a "fascist state" as a definition for its system doesn't fit either.

Such is the power of ideas. Socialism may be only a ghost haunting the ruins of the revolution, but it is powerful enough to keep the system from being worse than it is, if nothing else.

About Farley Mowat's *The Siberians*, mentioned by Bates: while Mowat is good-natured and sincere—and quenches many silly stereotypes—he's naive. Mowat didn't know Russian and so was a captive of translators. He saw primarily what the authorities wanted him to see.

Whatever Mowat's faults, he's more honest than Hedrick Smith whose *The Russians* might've been definitive had he not prostituted himself to U.S. ruling class ideology. Smith uses *Time* magazine's gambit of drawing generalizations from anecdotes and passing off glibness as insight.

—Alex Shishin  
Palo Alto, Calif.

## ME-ME-SEX-SEX?

I PROTEST ERIC MANKIN'S ARTICLE (ITT, Feb. 22) on Masterpiece Theater. Day after day I write, talk, protest against nuclear power and bombs, against environmental pollution, against the Oligarchy that runs our country so badly—but in the evening, or for an hour at 1:00 p.m., I enjoy BBC's excellent drama on NET, or I read the classics.

Does Mankin expect me to avoid Shakespeare, Greek drama, Austin, Trollope, Dostoevsky, Tolstoy, Molierc, etc., because their works deal with kings? Must I forego *Don Giovanni*, *Aida* and other operas because they deal with royalty? Must I listen to the rasping rock'n'roll and join screaming teenagers in worship of drugged Presleys to grow up believing the ignorant yak of old Hollywood actors? Should my reading be limited to *Garp* and the vulgarity of much of modern prose—dealing with me-sex-greed-violence-me-sex-greed-sex-violence?

More to the point, why not compliment Big Biz when it spends money to raise the level of intelligence in our country—and then try to educate their board of directors: to waken them, as individuals, to the personal horror of nuclear war, or radiation spills from power plants? They too will be crisped or vomit and starve in the long winter. They too will have deformed grandchildren and suffer from diseases related to pollution. Speak to their profit motive by which they are turning us into a banana republic as they buy up land or water rights from poor farmers, as they sterilize our soil, as they give jobs to robots and thereby ultimately lose their money-making base. But do *not* damn

them for educating citizens.

Mankin ignored Cronin's tale of medicine in a mining town; and he does not recognize the power in a household of an Irish cook or Irish nursemaid! Besides, *The Irish R.M.* is delightfully funny and laughter is needed in this world.

—Frances Tyson  
Las Vegas, N.M.

## SUBLIMINAL

ERIC MANKIN'S APT COMMENTARY on Mobil Oil as the Medicis of public television (ITT, Feb. 22) neglected one of Mobil's most remarkable achievements: turning Dickens' *Nicholas Nickleby* into a commercial for Reaganomics. The play's theme is that society is, irremediably, a jungle and that there are many unscrupulous businessmen like Ralph Nickleby. Fortunately, however, there are also virtuous businessmen, like the charitable Cherryble brothers, who providentially pick Nicholas off the unemployment line to groom as their heir. Viewers were obviously meant to make the connection between the Cheerybles and today's virtuous businessmen like the executives of Mobil Oil.

Mobil was widely praised for its sponsorship of *Nicholas Nickleby* first on syndicated TV and in its recent repeat on PBS, as well as for its accompanying, low-key public service announcements. These appeals for charitable contributions to private programs serving deprived schoolchildren, the aged and handicapped were in precisely the areas where the Reagan administration has cut back public funding.

Thus the subliminal message of both the play and commercials was that social ills like the present high unemployment or inflated gasoline and heating prices are inevitable and can't be cured by government intervention. However, if the government simply cuts taxes and eliminates regulation to allow executives and large shareholders of companies like Mobil to make million-dollar yearly incomes, these corporate Cheerybles can be trusted to care for the truly needy.

—Don Lazere  
San Luis Obispo, Calif.

## COCKBURN

JUST FOR THE RECORD, I DIDN'T think it "improper" for Alexander Cockburn to accept a grant from the Institute for Arab Studies. I did think it a mistake for him not to discuss the matter with his editor and jointly determine when and whether disclosure was appropriate. Anyway, thanks for your good piece (ITT, Feb. 15), and know that we are pleased and proud to publish him in *The Nation*.

—Victor Navasky  
Editor, *The Nation*

## SURPRISE!

ENCLOSED FIND MY CHECK FOR A one-year subscription to your excellent paper.

I had expected a publication long on ideological cant (albeit my personal ideology) and short on complete journalistic coverage, scholarly analysis and awareness of significant cultural and aesthetic movements—not to mention clear-eyed historical perspective.

I was pleasantly surprised to read your completely honest, intelligent, moral and forthright voice amidst the cacaphony of phony political "debate" between cowardly cold-war liberals and self-serving neo-conservatives of the Podhoretz-Dechter stripe.

—Paul Moore  
La Mesa, N.M.

## APPRECIATION

ENCLOSED IS A CHECK FOR \$17.00 TO continue my student rate subscription for one more year. Also enclosed is a check for \$5 to express my appreciation for your work in producing one of the finest political publications I know. Reading news publications does not come naturally to me. For years I could read very little in this area as I found almost all papers either unreadable, uninformative or both. *In These Times* was a real godsend in this respect, as it manages to be both readable and informative and, as a union activist and a radio programmer, I find that *ITT* focuses on much of what I find useful to know. So thank you many times over.

—Joel Gordon  
Madison, Wis.

## TOO SIMPLE

KALAMU YA SALAAM'S ARTICLE (ITT, Feb. 1) has a number of excellent observations on being black in the city of New Orleans. The dual economy he describes, though, is a simplified model that fails to address the role of the large urban white working class. I am a white boy who has lived in the Lower Ninth Ward and "hacked taxis in the French Quarter" until I got "a 'good payin' job' toiling on the riverfront." Where do I fit in?

The failure to acknowledge the existence of white working people (or Latin and Indochinese workers) makes it a lot easier to point fingers, but harder for organizing. Class solidarity is a messy issue that Ya Salaam has avoided.

It is interesting that Washington, D.C., a city that does fit very closely the colonial dual society model (a black service economy with virtually no white working class), has developed a much higher degree of political unity and black economic mobility than New Orleans. Perhaps if the class and race lines were as congruent in New Orleans as Ya Salaam implies he would have an easier time.

—Ian Christoplos  
Washington

## EDB

IN RECENT WEEKS, INCREASING ATTENTION has been focused on the almost daily discovery of ethylene dibromide (EDB) residues in a wide variety of American food products such as flour, cake mix, bread and oranges. Several unanswered questions remain about EDB, such as how much of our grain supply contains this chemical. But some conclusions can already be drawn:

- EDB is an extremely powerful carcinogen in laboratory animals and a probable human carcinogen. The EPA estimates that a lifetime exposure to EDB at 31 ppb [particles per billion] would result in 750,000 excess cancers. Residues in some grain products have now been found as high as 5,400 ppb and up to 2,000 ppb in the pulp of oranges. EDB is known to cause heritable genetic mutations and reproductive effects, including male sterility.

- The National Cancer Institute determined EDB to be a carcinogen 10 years ago. Failure to cancel the use of the product years ago resulted from the abuses of former high-level EPA officials and chemical and food industry influence. Even without future use of EDB on grain, residues are likely to remain in the food supply for many years.

But the critical question is how many more EDBs will occur in the future? Roughly 85 percent of the pesticides used in the U.S. have *never* been adequately tested to determine if they cause cancer, and an even greater 92 percent have not been tested for causing genetic mutations.

Reform legislation now pending before the Congress (HR 3818) sponsored by, among others, Sen. William Proxmire (D-Wisc.) and Representative George Brown (D-Calif.) would open up the pesticide decision-making process to the public and require complete testing of all pesticides for their chronic health effects. A strong message needs to be sent to the Congress that the public simply will no longer tolerate cancer-causing chemicals in their food, their drinking water or their workplace.

—Albert H. Meyerhoff  
San Francisco

## CORRECTION

A typographical error in "Malcolm's Message" (ITT, Feb. 22) misrepresented Malcolm X's political transformation upon his return from Mecca. The sentence in question should have read: "Malcolm came to see whites organizing in white communities as a basis for multi-racial unity."

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"Most of the news I need most, *The New York Times* doesn't see fit to print. More and more, I find it in *In These Times*."

Daniel Ellsberg



## DIALOG

# Free speech is often a cover for issue of property rights

THIS IS OUR MISSION— WE WILL RUN AN OPERATION AGAINST NICARAGUA THAT VIOLATES U.S. LAW

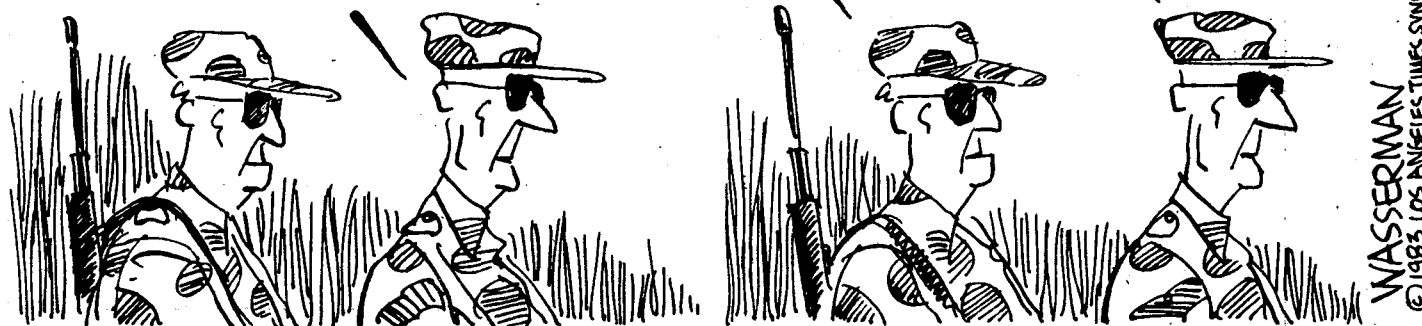
WE WILL KEEP THE AMERICAN PUBLIC IN THE DARK ABOUT OUR ACTIVITIES



WE WILL BRING TO THE NICARAGUAN PEOPLE THE NATIONAL GUARD THEY JUST THREW OUT

DO WE HAVE A CODE NAME?

PROJECT DEMOCRACY



By Saul Landau

**A**S IS FREQUENTLY THE case in his reporting, John Judis (*ITT*, Jan. 25) misses the point. Or I should say points. In his reference to my article in *Socialist Review* (September), he claims I dismissed criticism of Nicaragua's lack of political freedom. He then bounces me into a category called "these leftists." First, I was trying to ex-

plain the dynamics behind revolutionary processes, and clarify the obvious point that when revolutions redistribute property they must also redistribute power, and that the issue of property rights is often disguised behind "free speech" issues. Further, Judis ignores the fact that Nicaragua is at war and that the war is sponsored by the CIA. If not for that backing, the Nicaraguan political struggle would not necessarily take an armed struggle form, which in turn forces resort to repressive measures—as it would in any society.

The Sandinistas have opened up their society far more than even its harsh so-called left critics could have imagined. A British Labour Party report called *Kissinger's Kingdom?* cites the remarkable openness of the society and comments that Nicaraguan press censorship is far less severe than the ones imposed by Her Majesty's government during the Falklands war, and by the U.S. during the Grenada operation. In Nicaragua, the items that are censored are posted on a wall for all who care to read them, and are mailed to all the embassies in Managua.

## Even so, it's a basic socialist principle

By John Judis

**S**AUL LANDAU DOES discount ("dismiss" is his word) any criticism of Nicaragua's lack of freedom by distorting and exaggerating what I wrote: I did not "assume there is no free speech" in Nicaragua, nor ignore "the fact that Nicaragua is at war," nor simply apply "American standards of civil liberties" to Nicaragua. When I said Nicaragua had "close ties" to the Soviet Union, I was referring to political, not economic, ties. If trade determined political affinity, then France and West Germany would, indeed, have close ties to the Soviet Union. And my use of the term "these leftists" was simply meant to distinguish Landau's viewpoint from that of the Carnegie authors, some of whom are also leftists.

The Carnegie position was that the Sandinistas jeopardized the Nicaraguan revolution (which was *not* a socialist revolution) by adhering to a rigidly pro-

Soviet foreign policy (to the extent of establishing relations with Taiwan but not China and publishing only Tass' or *Prensa Latina's* reports on Poland in their newspaper), by trying to overmanage the mixed Nicaraguan economy and by suppressing or harassing their political opponents at home.

They argued that the Sandinistas could best meet the threat of a CIA-backed Somocista counterrevolution by opening the political process at home and coming to terms with Eden Pastora's non-CIA, non-Somocista opposition forces. I ended my description of the Carnegie position with a question rather than an answer: is it possible, contrary to Landau *et al.*, that the Sandinistas risk more by continuing to throttle their opposition at home than by acceding to the opposition's demand for full civil liberties and elections and by negotiating with Pastora?

Landau and those Sandinistas (now presumably in a minority) who opposed elections could be right in this respect: that in present conditions full political freedoms would simply accelerate the counterrevolution. But I hope they are

not right. While I do not believe every society should have a Congress and President and a Republican and Democratic parties, I do hold, with that great American jurist Rosa Luxembourg, that the democratic political process, of which multi-party elections are an integral part, is an essential means of political education and can provide a "powerful corrective" to the "innate shortcomings of social institutions," whether in Managua, Moscow or Cedar Rapids.

Landau's contention that the "class struggle" justifies political repression (which appears to emanate from transposing Marx and Lenin's concept of the dictatorship of the proletariat to semi-developed Central America) deserves a lengthier discussion than I can afford in a Dialog response. A few brief comments: first, even if the demand for political democracy were simply a pretext for the restoration of lands and businesses, that would not justify by itself a revolutionary leadership's rejection of those demands; the Sandinistas could accede to those demands from either expediency (taking the wind out of their opponents' sails) or principle. Second, the demand for democratic rights in Nicaragua cannot be so reduced. The opposition to the Sandinistas includes Pastora's forces, Miskito Indians, various orders of the Church and small merchants and business people as well as large exporters and former *latifundistas* hankering for the *ancien regime*. Third, the Sandinistas' success will not depend on their winning or re-

The critics of all the socialist revolutions, like Ronald Radosh and John Judis, place their priorities on abstractions that they do not analyze. Radosh spent a few days in Nicaragua and called for support of the dissidents. Judis assumes that there is no free speech. Neither of them seems concerned with a serious study of the facts or the victims of bombing, kidnappings, rapes and massive destruction that is a result of the CIA backed war.

Is it not a bit strange that the most vocal advocates of "free speech" in Nicaragua are the very people who have lost their property and privilege? The "private sector" and its newspaper, *La Prensa*, the upper class Catholic officials and the wealthy businessmen and bankers all attack the Sandinistas for denying free speech. It might inspire a reporter writing for a socialist newspaper to look beneath those claims for the real interests.

Nothing I have written means that I don't think free speech is important. It is. It is also important to examine the issue substantively and not simply classify "these leftists" as somehow beneath the level of reason and right.

Finally, Judis reports on the Sandinistas' "close ties" with the Soviet Union. This is baffling. The level of trade between West Germany or France and the Soviets is immense. Does this make ties "close"? The level of aid and trade with Cuba certainly merits the description "close." By contrast, the Sandinistas have closer ties with the West. Sixty percent of Nicaraguan aid since July 1979 has come from non-socialist countries. Sweden has recently doubled its aid. The point that Judis misses is that if the West responded by aiding Nicaragua more, the Sandinistas would not be forced to turn to the Soviets. It is precisely through Western aid that Nicaragua can remain non-aligned and the issues facing her people can be contained in the North-South and not the East-West context. Judis applies the Cold War criteria and measures emerging nations not by the realities of their lives, but by American standards of civil liberties and closeness to the Soviet Union.

This is unworthy of one of the few socialist newspapers in the U.S. *In These Times'* reporters have an obligation to be different from AP, UPI and *Washington Post* journalists, and offer a more ample context for readers so that they can understand rather than just react to world events. Labelings like "these leftists" and measuring by the above standards hardly do justice to American socialism in thought or practice.

Saul Landau is a senior fellow at the Institute for Policy Studies.

solving the "class struggle" but upon their ability to manage it, that is, to rule within the context of a mixed economy and political pluralism.

Let me say—to avoid misunderstanding—that I firmly oppose American intervention in Nicaragua, no matter what direction the Sandinista regime takes. Landau and I are not arguing about American foreign policy, but about freedom and revolution in Nicaragua and, by extension, those other countries whose leadership identifies itself as "Marxist-Leninist." Our disagreement is about the alternatives available to those leaders in a world still dominated by American military and economic power.

*The issue is the revolutionary principle of democratic pluralism, not intervention by the U.S., which isn't justified in any circumstances.*



By Eldon Kenworthy

**“Y**OU HAVE BEEN individually selected from among the qualified voters in your state...” begins a fundraiser from the Democratic National Committee now making its third appearance among my junk mail. Part of the “ballot” is a list of 13 “critical national concerns” and the reader is asked to select those the Democratic Party should emphasize. Not one refers to Central America.

As the U.S. prepares for war in that region, most of Congress and the public are oblivious to the danger. In this vacuum the administration adeptly controls the terms of debate, presenting its latest military escalation as the reasonable, centrist thing to do. By speaking of billions and not just of millions in aid to Central America, the Kissinger Report set the context for the administration's current request for a fourfold increase in military assistance for El Salvador. The purpose of that report was to quiet those who said the administration had no policy and to provide a “bipartisan consensus” for current aims.

During March 18-25—the fourth anniversary of the assassination of Archbishop Romero by the man who may win the Salvadoran presidency that week—various religious and political organizations will again try to puncture the indifference that blankets Congress and this country. “Central America Week” couldn't be more timely, for it coincides with votes in Congress that will determine whether the military escalation accelerates.

Congress will not resist the Reagan-Kissinger “bipartisan consensus” unless it hears from its constituents. Subcommittees on Central America may balk at administration proposals to add another \$179 million in military aid to El Salvador this year and \$133 million the next—the current level being \$65 million—along with comparable increases for Honduras. But the Senate as a whole and perhaps the House could find it expedient to let the president have his way.

This is a critical moment, then, to communicate what is happening in Central America where and when one can. What follows is an assessment of where the U.S. is headed, the first part examining the ongoing military escalation. Next week I will review the prospects for a diplomatic solution to Central America's conflicts.

Forget the explanations. What actually has Washington been doing these past six months in Central America?

- The first U.S. military invasion in 18 years (Grenada);
- The deployment of a quarter of U.S. surface seapower to Central American and Caribbean waters;
- Thousands of U.S. troops introduced into Honduras on a semi-permanent basis to construct military facilities and to provide military training, not only for that country's army but for Nicaraguan exiles, Salvadoran troops and U.S. forces; recent U.S. government reports project 20 years of such military involvement;
- The attempt to revive Central America's NATO, CONDECA, as a regional force to be used against Nicaragua;
- The rising role of Gen. Paul Gorman, head of the U.S. military's Southern Command, to the point where U.S. ambassadors complain of his usurping their role; Gorman recently dubbed Mexico our “No. 1 security problem” due to its “policy of accommodation with its own left and international leftist interests”;
- An expanding army of Nicaraguan exiles (*contras*) equipped by Washington to attack that country from bases principally in Honduras, given more sophisticated weapons to compensate for their inability to attract popular backing inside Nicaragua;
- And finally the massive escalation in military aid proposed for El Salvador along with the hidden growth in U.S. military advisers. If successful in its current requests, this administration will have



## PERSPECTIVES

# Reagan's plan for Central America

spent \$20,000 per Salvadoran soldier by year's end.

How will these amassed military resources be used? At the highest levels the Reagan administration discusses military actions that will “turn the tide” in El Salvador and humble Nicaragua's Sandinista leaders into accepting a coalition with “democratic forces” amenable to Washington. The preferred scenario has the U.S. providing logistics for a war fought by Central Americans under a regional banner, most likely CONDECA's since the OAS shows no signs of playing along.

Until the U.S. election is behind it, however, the administration won't launch a war without a provocation credible to the U.S. public, such as a Nicaraguan attack on Honduras. *Contra* attacks and U.S. military maneuvers have sought to draw the Sandinistas into attacking Honduran or U.S. assets, thereby providing a Central American Gulf of Tonkin. So far the Nicaraguans have not taken the bait. If reelected, Reagan will be more adventurous. In the meantime, the stage for the post-election play is being set by transforming Honduras into Fort Benning South.

While U.S. strategy remains the politically-palatable one of “letting” Central American boys do the fighting, North Americans are being killed. Seven died in the Big Pine 2 maneuvers held in Honduras and 18 died in Grenada. The administration's policy places thousands of U.S. troops close to regional hotspots, while the infusion of military aid feeds those flames.

The truth is that the more military hardware Washington pours into the region, the more the conflicts expand, and the stronger the forces opposed by Washington become. Thus the current pattern can only be a holding action to carry the administration past the elections; it offers no solution in itself.

There are more Salvadoran guerrillas controlling greater portions of that country now than a year ago, despite the accumulation of U.S. military aid and a doubling of the army. Why? Partly because an army that recruits by kidnapping and that terrorizes villagers generates guerrillas. After Vietnam one would have thought our policymakers understood this. But also consider this arithmetic. The Salvadoran military outnum-

ber the guerrillas three to one. It is estimated that 30 percent of the weapons Washington gives Salvador's soldiers passes to the insurgents through black market sales or battle losses. (This is the figure cited by Sen. Patrick Moynihan, a hard-liner who, as ranking Democrat on the Senate Intelligence Committee, has access to classified CIA reports.) Thus the administration may be doing a better job of arming each guerrilla than of arming each soldier.

Turning to the other countries, we find the same counterproductive pattern. By betting on the most *Somocista* of the *contra* bands and equipping them to mount barbaric attacks on their homeland, Washington has strengthened the Sandinistas inside Nicaragua. This is the only government in the region, with the possible exception of Costa Rica, that dares to disperse arms among its people. Having given the exiles the kiss of death through association, the CIA now admits that none of the *contras* can gain enough Nicaraguan territory to establish a rival government. Stuffing these counterrevolutionary genies back into the bottle in the event of a political settlement may now be beyond Washington's power.

In Honduras, the massive infusion of U.S. military aid has doomed whatever chances that newly hatched civilian government had of bringing its military under control, as well as swamping a fragile economy.

Washington tries to achieve its purposes by equipping others to do its dirty work, but not surprisingly those others fight for their agenda, not ours, making it hard for Reagan to sell Congress on the arrangement. Recent revelations make clearer than before the link between Salvadoran death squads and leaders—present no less than former—of the military there. The land reform is unraveling, savaged by a Constituent Assembly elected through Washington's urging.

The U.S. simply is unable to create, out of money and advice, a centrist, reformist yet friendly regime when the historic moment for that possibility has passed, as it had in El Salvador by January 1981 and possibly as early as 1972. Administration efforts to legitimate by election what *does* exist in El Salvador today may issue in the crowning of Roberto d'Aubuisson, denizen of the death squad

underworld in the pay of Salvadoran exiles in Miami, making even clearer that it isn't elections that create democracies but democracies that hold meaningful elections.

Taking more decisive control over its client states might seem the solution for Washington. When tried, however, in periodic crackdowns on Guatemala and El Salvador, this strategy elicits a nationalist backlash that feeds the right wing and thus alienates Congress. The administration is caught between its two roles: leader of a democracy at home and leader of an empire to the south. Really taking charge in Central America also carries the risk of Americans being killed in numbers greater than the public will accept, for that degree of control means more Yankees in the field, not just barking orders from behind embassy walls.

The most impoverished countries may still be bought, Honduras a case in point. As long as Washington pours the money in, Honduran elites apparently will let their nation be turned into the 51st state, a proposal actually voiced in Tegucigalpa. This obviously is a solution difficult to generalize in the closing decades of the 20th century, nor one that recommends the U.S. to the rest of Latin America.

Eight billion dollars. That's what the Kissinger Report says must be spent if Washington is to prevail in Central America, a region where national products rarely top the annual sales of Woolworths. Why did the Reagan White House embrace the Report's lavish recommendations? It probably anticipated that the military component of those recommendations could be funded while most of the economic aid was “postponed” in a bipartisan effort to bring the deficit down. Still, it is amazing to witness this administration recapitulating its Democratic predecessors' tactic of throwing money at a problem that eludes conventional wisdom and White House control.

What is happening in Central America today is an escalation of U.S. military force, some of it directly controlled by Washington, much of it in the unpredictable hands of proxies. This being the case, what do our leaders say they are doing? The Reagan administration claims to be pursuing a “two track” policy: the one military, the other diplomatic. The objective, we are told, is to encourage a peaceful resolution of Central America's conflicts by using military pressure to bring the “other side” around.

This argument cannot be dismissed out of hand, for indeed the Cubans and Sandinistas have “come around” in recent months, adding further concessions to their longstanding offers to negotiate. Because the Cubans and Sandinistas have come around, we are now in a position to assess how serious Washington is about reaching a political settlement. Is the diplomatic track real or merely a cover? Tune in next week to find out.

Eldon Kenworthy teaches at Cornell University and writes regularly for *In These Times*.



The following is an excerpt from *Beyond a Boundary* by C.L.R. James, one of the world's leading Marxist historians (who currently resides in London). The sport is cricket; the scene, the colonial West Indies. James shows how in the rituals of performance and conflict in the cricket field politics and psychology are at play. This 20-year-old classic—part memoir of a boyhood in a black colony and part celebration of an unusual game—is now being published in its first American edition by Pantheon Books.

By C.L.R. James

We know nothing, nothing at all, of the results of what we do to children. My father had given me a bat and ball, I had learnt to play and at eighteen was a good cricketer. What a fiction! In reality my life up to ten had laid the powder for a war that lasted without respite for eight years, and intermittently for some time afterwards—a war between English Puritanism, English literature and cricket, and the realism of West Indian life. On one side was my father, my mother (no mean pair), my two aunts and my grandmother, my uncle and his wife, all the family friends (which included a number of headmasters from all over the island), some eight or nine Englishmen who taught at the Queen's Royal College, all graduates of Oxford or Cambridge, the Director of Education and the Board of Education, which directed the educational system of the whole island. On the other side was me, just ten years old when it began.

They had on their side parental, scholastic, governmental and many other kinds of authority and, less tangible but perhaps more powerful, the prevailing sentiment that, in as much as the coloured people on the island, and in fact all over the world, had such limited opportunities, it was my duty, my moral and religious duty, to make the best use of the opportunities which all these good people and the Trinidad Government had provided for me. I

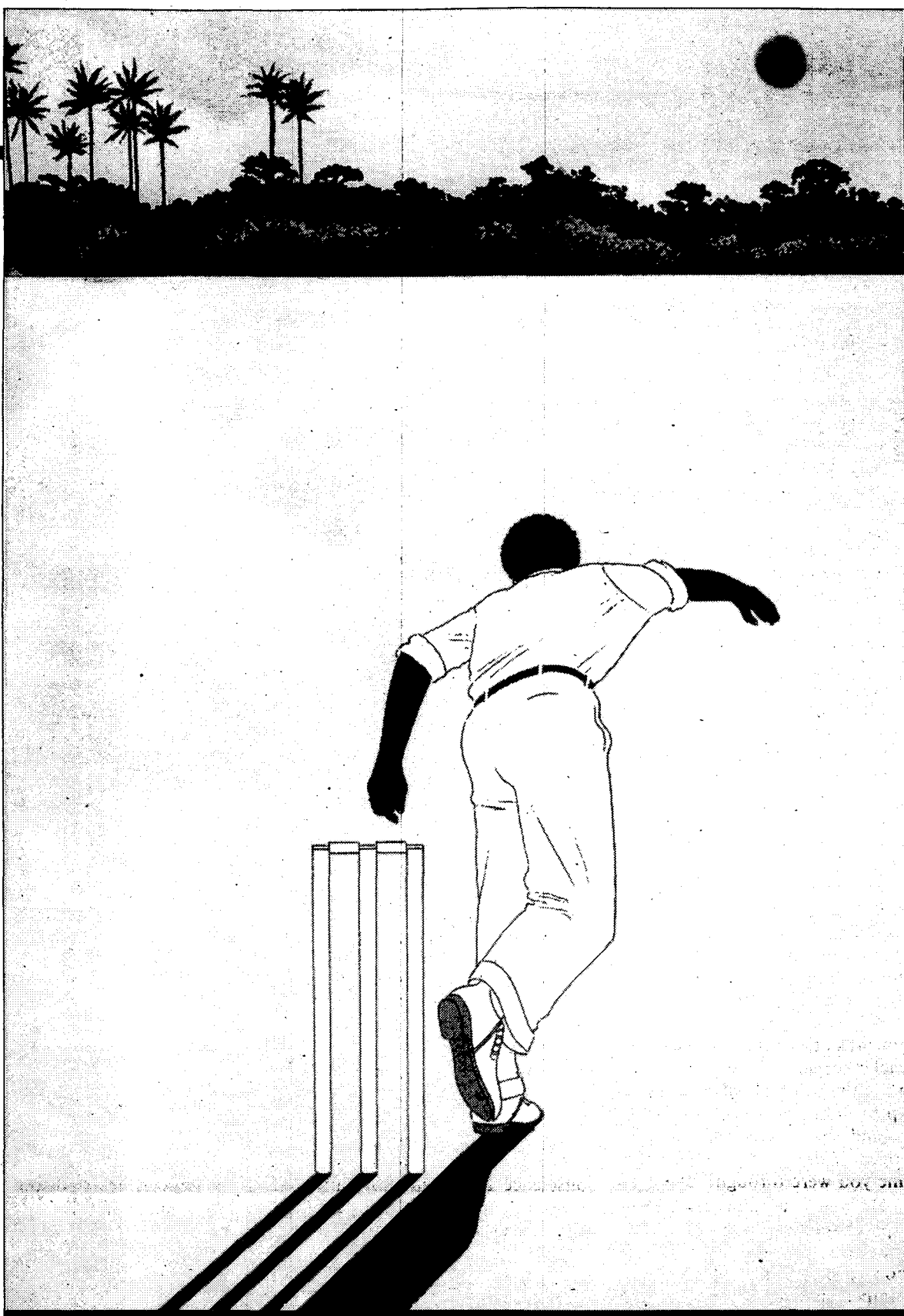
had nothing to start with but my pile of clippings about W.G. Grace and Ranjitsinhji, my *Vanity Fair* and my Puritan instincts, though as yet these were undeveloped. I fought and won.

This was the battleground. The Trinidad Government offered yearly free exhibitions from the elementary schools of the island to either of the two secondary schools, the Government Queen's Royal College and the Catholic college, St. Mary's. The number today is over four hundred, but in those days it was only four. Through this narrow gate boys, poor but bright, could get a secondary education and in the end a Cambridge Senior Certificate, a useful passport to a good job. There were even more glittering prizes. Every year the two schools competed for three island scholarships worth 600 pounds each. With one of these a boy could study law or medicine and return to the island with a profession and therefore independence. There were at that time few other roads to independence for a black man who started without means. The higher posts in the Government, in engineering and other scientific professions were monopolized by white people, and, as practically all big business was also in their hands, the coloured people were, as a rule, limited to the lower posts. Thus law and medicine were the only ways out. Lawyers and doctors made large fees and enjoyed great social prestige.

That was the course marked out for me. The elementary-school masters all over the island sought bright boys to train for this examination, and to train a boy for this and win with him was one of the marks of a good teacher. My father was one of the best, and now fortune conspired to give him in his own son one whom he considered the brightest student he had ever had or known. The age limit for the examination was twelve and when I was eight I stopped going to my aunt's for half the year and my father gave me a little extra coaching. On the day of the examination a hundred boys were brought from all parts of the island by their teachers, like so many fighting cocks. That day I looked at the favourites and their trainers with wide-open eyes, for I was a country bumpkin. My father when asked about me always dismissed the enquiry with the remark, 'I only brought him along to get him accustomed to the atmosphere.' This was true, for he had great confidence in himself and in me and the most we ever did that year was half an hour extra in the morning and the same in the afternoon. I was only eight and he would not press me. But some weeks afterwards, when the daily paper arrived, I heard him shout to my mother: 'Bessie! Come and look at this!'

I had not won a place, but was among the ten or a dozen boys who gained special mention and had been placed seventh.

'If I had taught you seriously, boy, you would have won,' my father said to me. The next year, though I had still two other chances, I ran away with the ex-



## C.L.R. JAMES

*The cricket field was a stage on which individuals played roles charged with social significance.*

amination, came first and at that time was the youngest boy ever to have won a place. Congratulations poured in from all over the island and particularly from the teaching fraternity.

Being Protestant, I naturally went to the Government College.

It is only now as I write that I fully realize what a catastrophe I was for all—and there were many—who were so interested

*"I haven't the slightest doubt that the clash of race, caste and class did not retard but stimulated West Indian cricket."*

—C.L.R. James

in me. How were they to know that when I put my foot on the steps of the college building in January 1911 I carried within me the seeds of revolt against all it formally stood for and all that I was supposed to do in it? My scholastic career was one long nightmare to me, my teachers and my family. My scholastic shortcomings were accompanied by breaches of discipline which I blush to think of even today. But at the same time, almost entirely by my own efforts, I mastered thoroughly the principles of cricket and of English literature, and attained a mastery over my own character which would have done credit to my mother and Aunt Judith if only they could have understood it. I could not explain it to their often tear-stained faces for I did not understand it myself. I look back at that little boy with amazement, and, as I have said, with a gratitude that grows every day. But for his unshakable defiance of the whole world around him, and his determination to stick to his own ideas, nothing could have saved me from winning a scholarship, becoming an Honourable Member of the Legislative Council and ruining my whole life.

The first temptation was cricket and I succumbed without a struggle.

I haven't the slightest doubt that the clash of race, caste and class did not retard but stimu-

lated West Indian cricket. I am equally certain that in those years social and political passions, denied normal outlets, expressed themselves so fiercely in cricket (and other games) precisely because they were games. Here began my personal calvary. The British tradition soaked deep into me was that when you entered the sporting arena you left behind you the sordid compromises of everyday existence. Yet for us to do that we would have had to divest ourselves of our skins. From the moment I had to decide which club I would join the contrast behind the ideal and the real fascinated me and tore at my insides. Nor could the local population see it otherwise. The class and racial rivalries were too intense. They could be fought out without violence or much lost except pride and honour. Thus the cricket field was a stage on which selected individuals played representative roles which were charged with social significance. I propose now to place on record some of the characters and as much as I can reproduce (I remember everything) of the social conflict. I have been warned that some of these characters are unknown and therefore unlikely to interest non-West Indian readers. I cannot think so. Theirs is the history of cricket and of the West Indies, a history so far unrecorded as so much village cricket in England and of crick-

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# Zen, politics and the art of playing cricket

eters unknown to headlines have been recorded, and read with delight even in the West Indies.

George John, the great fast bowler [pitcher], indeed knight-errant of fast bowling, had a squire. This squire was not short and fat and jovial. He was some six foot four inches tall and his name was Piggott. Where he came from, what he did in the week, I do not know and never asked. He came every Saturday to play and was a man of some idiosyncrasy: Piggott never or rarely wore a white shirt, but played usually in a shirt with coloured stripes without any collar attached. He did it purposely, for all his colleagues wore white shirts. His place in history is that he was John's wicketkeeper [catcher or goalie], and never was fast bowler better served. Piggott was one of the world's great wicketkeepers of the period between the wars. He always stood up to John, his hands one inch behind the stumps, and if you edged or drew your toe over the line you were through.

He had a peculiar trick that was characteristic of him. On the rare occasions that John bowled on the leg-side, Piggott jumped sideways with both feet and pushed his legs at the ball, hoping to bounce it on to the wicket and catch the batsman out of his crease. (He was also credited with being able to flick a bail if the ball was passing very close to the wicket and might miss. But I never saw him do it and never heard of any authentic instance. The legend, however, illustrates his uncanny skill.) He may not have been quite so good at slow bowling, but I am inclined to believe that it was the constant miracles he performed standing up to John which put his other keeping in the shade. In his own way and in his own style he was unique. In addition Piggott was one of the few comic characters I have known in West Indies cricket. He walked with shoulders very much bent forward and with a kind of hop. When he was excited he gabbled rather than spoke. He was apt to get upset when things went wrong, usually a catch or sometimes two in an over missed in the slips off John. At the end of the over John would stamp off to his place in the slips glaring at the offender, while Piggott ambled up the pitch peering from side to side over his bent shoulders, gesticulating and muttering to himself.

He was without the slightest doubt the finest wicketkeeper we had ever seen, and to this day I have not seen or heard of any West Indian wicketkeeper who surpassed him. No one ever dared to say otherwise. The sight of him standing up to John and Francis in England in

1923 would have been one of the never-to-be-forgotten sights of modern cricket. Yet, to the astonishment of all Trinidadians, when the 1923 team was selected he was left out and Dewhurst taken instead. The only excuse current at the time was the following: 'You can't depend on a man like that. Who knows, when you are looking for him for some important match you will find him somewhere boozing.'

It was untrue. It was also stupid.

The real reason could be seen in a glance at the Trinidad contribution to the 1923 side. John and Small (Stingo), Constantine and Pascall (Shannon). Piggott would have meant three Stingo and two Shannon. All would have been absolutely black. Not only whites but the Queen's Park Club would have been left out altogether. Dewhurst was a fine wicketkeeper, and he was recognized as such and praised in England. But it was a guilty conscience that made so many people say to me: 'And, by the way, everywhere the team goes they comment on our stumper—they say he is very good.' I knew that as well as anybody else. I read more English papers than they.

Poor Piggott was a nobody. I felt the injustice deeply. So did others. He was a man you couldn't miss in a crowd and one day at the Queen's Park Oval during a big match I stood and talked with him. Dewhurst, now firmly established as the island

and West Indian 'keeper, was doing his job excellently as he always did. But as the ordinary people came and went an astonishing number of them came up to tell Piggott, 'You should be out there, Piggie.' 'If you had his skin, Piggie, you would be behind today.' Most of them didn't know him except by sight. Piggott was very good-natured about it. What is most curious is that to this day I don't know whether this superb cricketer was a tailor, a casual labourer or a messenger. Socially he did not register.

Cricket was a creation of pre-Victorian England, of the two generations which preceded the accession of the Queen, the England of the early Dickens and of William Hazlitt. It was an England still unconquered by the Industrial Revolution. It travelled by saddle and carriage. Whenever it could it ate and drank prodigiously. It was not finicky in morals. It enjoyed life. It prized the virtues of frankness, independence, individuality, conviviality. There were rulers and ruled, the educated and uneducated. If the two groupings could be described as two nations they were neither of them conscious of the division as a state of things which ought not to be. You can see that clearly in the finest prose-writer of the time. Hazlitt was an intellectual to his fingertips, and a militant, an extreme democrat who suffered martyrdom for his opinions. Yet he is not a divided man, he has no acute consciousness either of class or of divided culture. He discusses with equal verve the virtues of a classical education and the ignorance of the learned. It is impossible to distinguish any change in his style whether he writes on William Cobbett, on his First Acquaintance with Poets, on John Cavanagh, the Fives Player, or on the Fight between Bill Neate and the Gas-man.

Hazlitt's strength and comprehensiveness were the final culmination of one age fertilized by the new. In prose, in poetry, in criticism, in painting, his age was more creative than the country had been for two centuries before and would be

for a century after. This was the age that among its other creations produced the game of cricket.

In all essentials the modern game was formed and shaped between 1778 when Hazlitt was born, and 1830, when he died. It was created by the yeoman farmer, the gamekeeper, the potter, the tinker, the Nottingham coal-miner, the Yorkshire factory hand. These artisans made it, men of hand and eye. Rich and idle young noblemen and some substantial city people contributed money, organization and prestige. Between them, by 1837 they had evolved a highly complicated game with all the typical characteristics of a genuinely national art form: founded on elements long present in the nation, profoundly popular in origin, yet attracting to it disinterested elements of the leisured and educated classes. Confined to areas and numbers which were relatively small, it contained all the premises of rapid growth. There was nothing in the slightest degree Victorian about it. At their matches cricketers ate and drank with the gusto of the time, sang songs and played for large sums of money. Bookies sat before the pavilion at Lord's openly taking bets. The unscrupulous nobleman and the poor but dishonest commoner alike bought and sold matches. Both Sir Donald Bradman and Mr. Neville Cardus think that cricket is too complex a game to encourage betting. The history of the game is against them. There is nothing too complex for men to bet on. Cricket took its start from the age in which it was born, both the good and the bad. That the good could predominate was a testimony to the simple men who made it and the life they lived.

The class of the population that seems to have contributed least was the class destined to appropriate the game and convert it into a national institution. This was the solid Victorian middle class. It was accumulating wealth. It had won its first political victory in the Reform Bill of 1832 and it would win its second with the Repeal of the Corn Laws in 1846. It was on its way. More

IN THESE TIMES MARCH 14-20, 1984 19 than most newcomers it was raw. Unlike the French bourgeoisie of the eighteenth century, it had no need to create a new political and philosophical system to prepare itself for power. Its chief subjective quality was a moral unctuousness. This it wore like armour to justify its exploitation of common labour, and to protect itself from the loose and erratic lives of the aristocracy it was preparing to supplant. Matthew Arnold, twenty years later, was to win a reputation by denouncing it as Philistine and cataloguing its deficiencies with an almost pathological malice. The Victorian middle classes paid little attention to him, and rightly so. They knew what was wrong with them. A far greater man than Arnold had told them almost from the beginning, had shown them themselves, not with intellectual fastidiousness, but in terms of human character and human relations. The Victorian middle classes read Dickens, loved Dickens, worshipped Dickens as few writers have been before or since. It is a very bold assumption that they did not understand what Dickens was saying. By 1850 he had already drawn Pecksniff, Dombey and the horrible Mr. Murdstone. In 1954 *Hard Times* showed labor rebellious and despairing against the conditions imposed upon it by the new industrial processes.

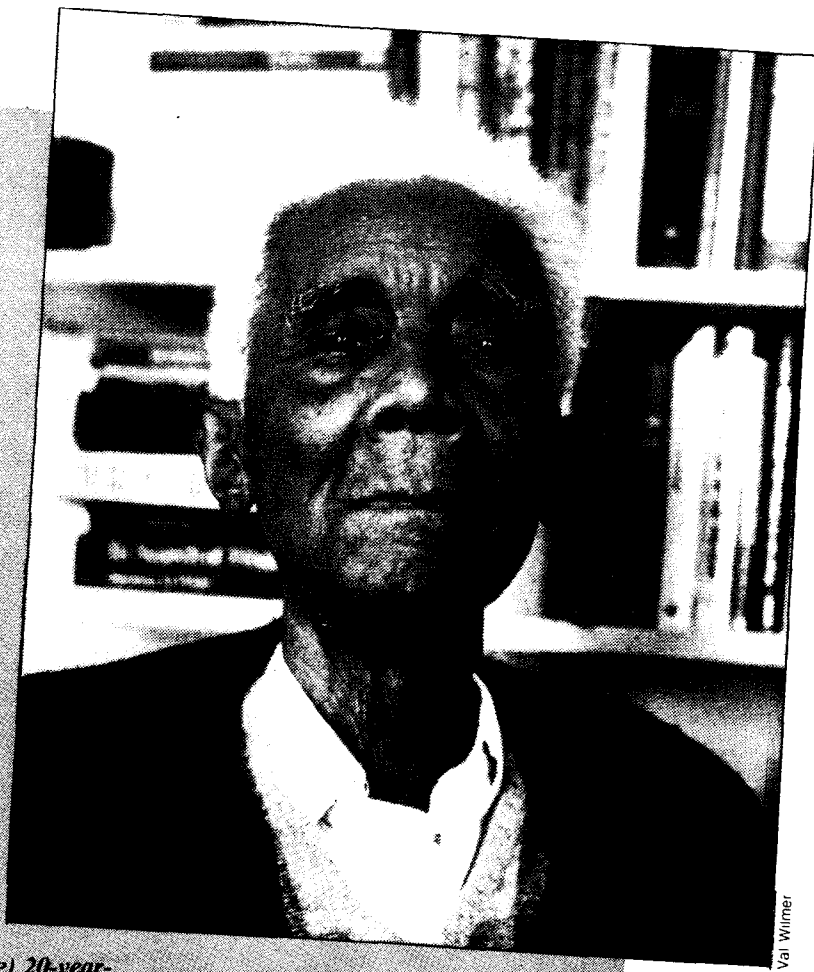
I have made great claims for cricket. As firmly as I am able and as is here possible, I have integrated it in the historical movement of the times. The question remains: What is it? Is it mere entertainment or is it an art?

It is an art and we have to compare it with other arts.

Cricket is first and foremost a dramatic spectacle. It belongs with the theater, ballet, opera and the dance.

It is so organized that at all times it is compelled to reproduce the central action which characterizes all good drama from the days of the Greeks to our own: two individuals are pitted against each other in a conflict that is strictly personal but no less strictly representative of a social group. One individual batsman faces one individual bowler. But each represents his side. The personal achievement may be of the utmost competence or brilliance. Its ultimate value is whether it assists the side to victory or staves off defeat. This has nothing to do with morals. It is the organizational structure on which the whole spectacle is built. The dramatist, the novelist, the choreographer, must strive to make his individual character symbolical of a large whole. He may or may not succeed.

This fundamental relation of the One and the Many, Individual and Social, Individual and Universal, leader and followers, representative and ranks, the part and the whole, is structurally imposed on the players of cricket. What other sports, games and arts have to aim at, the players are given to start with, they cannot depart from it. Thus the game is founded upon a dramatic, a human, relation that is universally recognized as the most objectively pervasive and psychologically stimulating in life and therefore in that artificial representation of it which is drama. Excerpted from *Beyond A Boundary*, published February 1984 by Pantheon Books. ©1963 C.L.R. James. Used by permission of Pantheon Books.



C.L.R. James' (above) 20-year-old classic is part memoir and part celebration of an unusual sport.





## FILM

## Not so ordinary people

By Pat Aufderheide

*Seeing Red* is a three-way standard setter. An independently made film with production quality to make a commercial filmmaker proud, it's also a historical film that uses testimony not to stir nostalgia but to recreate a felt history. And it reaches an audience far beyond usual documentary viewers, through a carefully calculated theatrical release pattern.

This is a film about American Communists that got nominated this year for an Academy Award. An Oscar nomination doesn't mean that Hollywood is turning pink. The surprise is that Hollywood even managed to find the movie.

The film is the most ambitious project yet tackled by Julia Reichert and Jim Klein (*Growing Up Female*, *Union Maids*, *Methadone: Another Way of Dealing*). It's a spirited exploration of Communism as a lifestyle, one rich in energy and irony. It establishes the human passion of Communists' lives, at a time when our defense establishment is doing its best to make us cower when we hear the word "Communist." It does not, however, assess—or even provide a framework for assessing—the historical role of the institution these people lived in for many years.

*Seeing Red* focuses on people who joined the Communist Party in its heyday, during the Depression. It traces their lives through the political turmoil of the time, moves to the collapse of the Party—after revelations of Stalin's crimes—in 1956 and flashes forward to interview them in the present. Rare historical footage

amplifies the interviews, and in narration the filmmakers both assert their own perspective and use a low-key third-person descriptive tone.

The oral history form is peculiarly appropriate here. In the mainstream press as well as the infighting left, Communists have become either demons and fanatics or saints and victims. When you see these people, and feel the power of their personalities, that symbolic transformation be-

*Why did you decide to make this film?*

**Reichert:** We were radicals who came out of a movement that fell apart, hoping to find some answers from people who had the same thing happen to them. We found they didn't have answers for us, but they did give us examples of hope and courage for our own lives. We found a continuity in the lives of other radicals, not just in the flame of their activity for a few short years when things were hot.

We did 400 interviews for our primary research. We read everything we could find on the Communist Party, but everyone had an axe to grind. And for our generation, there was nothing there. We felt we had to take a fresh look. At the beginning of the film we state our focus, that this is a film about one generation in the Communist Party, not about "the Communist Party." And it is a movie by our generation about theirs.

*New Leftists have typically been harsh in their judgment of the old left, and especially on the Communist Party. Wasn't this an unlikely place for you to look for role models?*

**Klein:** I feel the New Left has indeed written off the old left. Peo-

ple have just made a judgment and labelled all those people "politically incorrect." But it's more complex and human than that.

**Reichert:** A typical New Left attitude toward Communists is simple dismissal. "Stalinists"—whatever that means. Or "they hid their politics." I think that's disrespectful, for one thing, of the hundreds of thousands of active members. But to dismiss them is stupid as well as disrespectful.

## A dialogue of generations

*Further, many people in the old left are suspicious of criticism, and many Americans think of Communism as "the evil force." Were you concerned that your film would be rejected by everyone?*

**Klein:** We've been talking for years about expecting attacks from both the left and the right for making this. We've been surprised, in fact, by the positive re-

tism, for their can-do attitude, for their upbeat approach to life and politics. They have the moral fervor that fuels social reform—as well as sectarian self-righteousness of both left and right.

The film begins with Reichert's own curiosity to find the people behind her "trenchcoat image" of old-time Communist Party members, and then leaps back to the Depression. Unemployment, strikes, racial discrimination and evictions all provide ample reasons to turn to the Communist Party. Old newsreel clips show us the Party's embattled public image. One clip shows a CP march under police attack, with narrator's comment: "Another red rally bites the dust!"

The strength of the Party in the '30s is shown as well as told:

20,000 conventioners singing The Internationale in Madison Square Garden; Party-organized tourist trips to Red Russia; banners and floats in Communist Party parades; and even a Party ball. The early days of fascism saw the CP's finest hour—its organizing of volunteers to fight in the Spanish Civil War.

## In the soup.

Then the film takes a historical flying leap, going in two sequences and a photograph from the Hitler Stalin-pact of 1939 to the Cold War. Bill Bailey recalls that everyone was "seeing Comies in their soup!" Sylvia Woods and others recall FBI surveillance, persecution after the Peekskill conference, the Rosenberg trial.

flexivity would be crucial, just because it would be so hard to sell the story straight, given hostility to Communism in the country. But by the time the film was finished the interview material was so strong that our own material was getting in the way.

**Reichert:** I still regret it. I think it would have added complexity to the presentation.

**Klein:** We could have put forward more directly the questions we came to it with—the secrecy, for instance. We had asked ourselves these questions—Would I have done this? Do movements always have to be like this?—and every one of these issues came up in our lives. We tried to understand rather than just critique.

*Do you think your background in the New Left shaped your choice of style?*

**Klein:** What we got out of our experience is that it's a lot about what you're feeling inside. It's a more political act to allow the audience to think than to resolve the issues for them.

**Reichert:** Still, I think we're too easy on our audience. It could have been a more challenging film; it could have had more of an internal voice. We could have posed those thorny issues to the audience as they presented them-

action generally. For one thing, I think the left has matured a lot since we started seven years ago. Maybe it's been adversity that did it. I also think the Marxist-Leninist left has fallen apart, and so that voice has declined.

*Was your choice of a traditional narrative documentary style deliberate?*

**Reichert:** Originally the concept was to use a more reflexive style, to make the film more obviously a dialogue between our generation and theirs. We wanted, for instance, to put in more footage of me asking questions. I kept a diary throughout the filmmaking, and we had footage of me reading from it. The only thing that remains now from all that is the phone call scene.

**Klein:** The structure of a film limits you terribly. A 100-minute film is like a short magazine article.

Originally we felt that the re-





SEEING RED subjects Edna Whitehorse, Bill Bailey, Marge Frantz, Muriel Eldridge

The outside pressure was bearable, compared to the 1956 revelations that shook most members' faith in the Party and its leaders. "Stretch" Johnson recalls turning to drink, and Dorothy Healey remembers not being able to stop crying. Woods draws a blank. Most of the witnesses to history in this film dropped out of the Party, along with some 80 percent of the membership, by 1958. But today they're all still reformers and fighters. "No regrets," says one. "We're still here," says another.

Throughout this narrative the filmmakers pointedly ask three questions: Why did the CPers so enthusiastically adopt the USSR as a model for their own society? Several people recall how moved they were by Russia's new possibilities. And, as Bailey puts it, "If it could happen in Russia, why not here?" The filmmakers don't, however, probe their subjects on why the CPers assumed that because "it" had happened there, the Russian model would work here.

They do raise questions about the Party's organization. Why did these people hide their Party membership? Part of the answer—anti-Communist smear campaigns—comes through in the old footage. Ex-CPer Marge Frantz explains members' logic. They wanted to be politically effective within unions, workplaces and political campaigns, and they feared their fellow workers would distrust them and their employers would fire them. (Frantz, unlike some others in the film, thinks this was a long-run mistake.)

Finally, the filmmakers focus on the authoritarian Party structure, "democratic centralism," and they get confession but not explanation. "It was a mistake," some say. "A basic flaw." "A

selves to us.

**Klein:** Well, it would have made clearer not only what we thought, but the process of our coming to grips with the issues. But it would also have meant cutting them to make room for us. And by that time we were exhausted.

**So your primary audience is your own generation on the left?**

**Reichert:** No, we want to reach as mass an audience as we can. That has made for problems of presentation in itself. One of the biggest problems in editing was the structuring of a film for people who knew nothing of history. We had footage of Stalin and people would ask, "Who's that guy?" The second half of the film was always structured the way it is now. But the first half—where we introduce Communism and show why people would get involved in the movement—there must have been 35 versions of that.

**Is the film's high production quality a result of the choice of audience?**

**Reichert:** We felt we could never compromise on the quality of the filmmaking, because we had to convince people to watch it.

**Klein:** In fact, we got immobilized for a year in the middle, be-

glaring weakness." "Sowed the seeds of our own destruction." Dorothy Healey takes the burden on herself, as a CP official. "I was a little Stalin," she says.

So why did they obey and command? One woman says, "There was a certain amount of fanaticism." (In general, the women tend to be more self-critical.) She also says they felt they didn't have the "luxury" of debate. By and large people agree that "it couldn't happen today." They are puzzled and saddened, but not able to explain how it happened then. And the filmmakers don't show us either.

This is a movie made by baby boom social activists—New Leftists—in search of role models for political survival. The timing is right. Baby boomers are entering middle age with babies of their own, in a bleak political epoch compared with the high drama of their youth. And its focus is appropriate to their own traditions. For instance, carefully included with concerns of class and race is a focus on the role of women in the CP. In bringing the issues animating a later political movement to the history of an earlier one, the film points up the vitality of old left women. They recount how they got around sex discrimination then, and they show themselves active today in feminist politics.

#### How did it feel?

The film also reveals its social

origins in its emphasis on the personal in the political. The younger generation asks the older folks what it felt like to get up on a soapbox, whether they knew how to party and how they coped with despair. Deeper, the filmmakers probe the Party's traditional political liabilities—secrecy, espionage, rigid hierarchy—at a human level. How could someone as critical and self-aware as you, they ask, give up your freedom like that? This focus on the character of political activism is one reason why the interviews never reduce to "talking heads." Technique enters in as well, of course. The interviews, filmed expertly with almost supernatural timing, are also edited with an O. Henry punch.

The fact that it's a New Leftists' movie may explain in part its historical "take." The film shows the pressure the U.S. political establishment put on the CP, and recalls the CP's growth and victories in good times, its survival in hard times. Suddenly, like a long-dormant cancer, the 1956 revelations attack the political body. These emphases undoubtedly reflect the CPers' own memories, and they display well the most positive character traits these people brought to their work. But the historical role that the CP played on the left—dominating its actions and defining its options—is not explained. Nor are the consequences of the attitudes and failures that the

## The role the CP played on the left isn't explained.

CPers own up to. If secrecy and centralism indeed "sowed the seeds of our destruction," this movie doesn't show how or why.

Not that Reichert and Klein had an easy task. Aiming for a general audience, they faced the double whammy of anti-Communism and ignorance. They tried to avoid a rehash of intra-left squabbles and to show that left-wingers could be patriotic American citizens. Their success, and its limits, can be gauged in the film's reception.

Since the day the final print was struck in the lab and rushed for that day's screening at the New York Film Festival, the film has had critical success. At the festival, it not only got cautious praise in the *New York Times* but sold out to the fussiest audience in the U.S. In San Francisco, where it premiered commercially, it sold out at a benefit for the Democratic Socialists of America and received generally positive reviews. It won festival awards last year in Portugal, Chicago and Florence, Italy.

There is a conservative strain to the qualifiers that come with the mainstream reviews, as there was in questions at the New York Film Festival preview. Whatever the specific argument or complaint, the questions come back to: Aren't these people *too* charming? What are they trying to put over on us? But there is also a responsive generosity to the CPers' warmth of character. In the largely apolitical moviegoing audience, *Seeing Red* falls com-

more, and into Browderism. But I want a mass audience.

Besides, it's a dull period in history for our focus. Most men were overseas, and the labor movement was saddled with a no-strike clause. The times didn't lend themselves to drama on film. And these issues were not the drama of most people's lives at the time. For us, it wasn't the heart of these people's story.

**You've been pioneers in independent film distribution targeted at grassroots activity, in political and community settings. Why have you worked so hard to position this film as a first-run theatrical release?**

**Klein:** I imagine this film as a new educational tool. But to make it educationally, it has to be a breakthrough theatrically. It needs that legitimacy. Films can work from the grassroots. But with this film even the left would be scared to death to use it, if it didn't have the stamp of commercial approval. Now that it's got a theatrical run, we're getting calls from community groups.

The goal for me is to get it into the national consciousness, which is why it's so important to place it in theaters. I've seen people change their ideas about unions, about women, as a result of

fortably into the offbeat-but-interesting-history category. For a film about Communists, it has proved surprisingly uncontroversial.

On the sectarian left, the reaction has been heated. In *Frontline*, a Marxist-Leninist newspaper, Irwin Silber criticized the film for linking the activities of the early CP with a modern movement of democratic socialism. He faulted Reichert and Klein's criticism of Party structure, saying it was part of the CP's internationalism—an outlook essential for a political vanguard. In *People's World*, several writers protested the film's focus on only one generation, smarting under the implication that the CP today is no longer important.

Both the mainstream and the sectarian reactions respond to something real in the film: its stress on human spirit in transcending and weathering crisis, rather than on people shaping history. What we have in *Seeing Red* is proof of the vitality of American Communists, who appear to be more American than Communist in the positive thinking. *Seeing Red* sees red more clearly than it shows the historical process they lived in and acted on. The view back from the New Left skips a lot, and the missing pieces fit nicely with what the old left doesn't choose to look at.

We've never needed a good dose of inspiration more. But role models aren't enough. *Seeing Red* is healthy proof that individuals don't lose their spirit when a movement collapses; now we need to understand how—in spite of that spirit—a movement collapsed. We need that not in order to judge history but to understand what it means for the movements that continue. ■



Julia Reichert and Jim Klein

cause we felt that it had to be the best film ever made about Communism. And then we just said, "Well, we have to turn something out."

**Reichert:** Making a "great film" just was too scary. That was when we had to give up some of our more poetic ideas, our plans for reflexivity. We went back to basics, and that meant focusing on the people.

**So you deliberately focused on the people rather than on the institution or the history?**

**Klein:** Yes, but it's not a family portrait either. It traces a historical movement. What it doesn't do is to address the internal left

critique of the Communist Party. **Reichert:** Also, we give the personal perspective on that history. We don't answer questions; we raise issues.

**Then why don't you, for example, address what the Hitler-Stalin pact meant to people personally?**

**Klein:** The Hitler-Stalin pact immobilized intellectuals, but not the working classes. True, the Party lost diversity, but the CP was as big as it ever was in 1946.

We were also making choices about our audience. If I were making a film for leftists about what we can learn today, I would have gone into this question

a film.

**Reichert:** I don't think you make an impact on the national consciousness with a one-time showing on public television. Somehow it's always just another night's programming.

**Did you come to understand the political dilemmas of this movement through your filmmaking?**

**Klein:** The problems always went back to their way of making decisions. It wasn't that they weren't smart—you can see in the film they were just as smart as any of our friends in the New Left. And it wasn't that they made mistakes—everyone does that. But they couldn't do anything about it, they couldn't grow and change as a result. It was like a pendulum with no middle.

**Did making this film change your views?**

**Reichert:** I think I came to see that the most profound understandings are not about political issues but about people.

**Klein:** We got a definite sense of how much people live in their own context. We got a chance to look at the world through their eyes. It made me a lot less willing to be definitive, to have all the answers. Certain things make sense at a certain moment. ■



# War

Continued from page 13

goal would still be eventual deployment of a working system, we shouldn't overlook its beneficial impact on arms reduction as it progresses."

Even a partial ABM system could also

play an important role in American nuclear and political strategy. Under the Pentagon's strategy for waging "limited nuclear war," one side would strike first in order to eliminate the other's strategic missiles. Scientist Daniel Kaplan noted how a limited ABM system could be an important part of this strategy. "One mission well suited to a system of only a few laser weapons would be to cover a counterforce first strike—against strategic military forces, not civilian targets,"

Kaplan wrote. "The position of the military today is that the danger of a counterforce surprise attack can be greatly reduced by planning to launch the targeted missiles before the incoming missiles arrive: the tactic of 'launch on warning.' However, if four or five lasers were orbited—not nearly enough to defend against a surprise missile attack—their orbits could be coordinated so that they could cover all necessary targets within a certain time window."

## ASATS and war in space

The administration's 1985 budget includes \$242.8 million for the development of anti-satellite weapons (ASATs). These weapons are part of the Reagan administration's plan to militarize space. They are also integrally related to the development of a new anti-ballistic missile (ABM) system.

The ASAT currently being tested is a Miniature Homing Vehicle (MHV) that is fired from an F-15 jet fighter. The MHV is shot into outer space when the F-15 almost reaches the top of the atmosphere. It then seeks out and destroys enemy satellites.

In the late '70s, the U.S. and Soviet Union were negotiating a ban on ASATs. The U.S. let the negotiations expire after the Soviet Union invaded Afghanistan. In 1981 and again in 1983, the Soviets submitted proposals to the

Americans for negotiating an ASAT ban. Last August, Soviet Premier Yuri Andropov announced a moratorium on Soviet ASAT testing. But the U.S. has dismissed Soviet proposals for negotiations and has not reciprocated the Soviet moratorium on testing.

The U.S. appears to have two motives for not negotiating a ban on ASATs. First, the U.S. is considerably ahead of the Soviets in ASAT technology. Second, the kind of weapons used in ASATs are sufficiently similar to those used for the new ABM systems. Thus, a ban on one could mean a ban on the other. Former Carter Defense official Walter Slocombe said, "A serious treaty limiting anti-satellite weapon technology is not consistent with a no-holds-barred ABM research, development and test program."

Conversely, the U.S. can get away with testing ABM technology like the ground-based excimer laser by claiming that it is an ASAT weapon, which, indeed, it could also serve as. In that way, the U.S. could evade the terms of the

1972 ABM treaty with the Soviet Union.

But the Reagan administration must now overcome an amendment that was placed on the 1984 Pentagon budget by Massachusetts Senator Paul Tsongas. Tsongas' amendment stipulated that the administration cannot test ASATs on real targets in space without demonstrating its willingness to negotiate an ASAT ban with the Soviet Union. In response to Tsongas' amendment, the administration has apparently moved its next ASAT test up past the November election.

Many military analysts doubt the usefulness of ASATs and think that a ban would be in the American interest, since the American satellite system employs fewer and more technologically complex satellites than the Soviet system does and would therefore be more vulnerable to an ASAT attack in war. But as was the case with the proposed ABM system, the ASATs could have a special use in an American counterforce attack aimed at initially destroying the enemy's communications capabilities. —J.J.

According to the strategy, the reason for deploying a partial ABM system would not be to undertake a counterforce first strike, but to establish what nuclear planners call "escalation dominance"—or the perception of American nuclear superiority. Military planners could then assume that in a situation like the 1962 Cuban missile crisis, the Soviet Union would back down first.

While it is unlikely that even many Pentagon planners share Hunter's dream of a totally reliable American ABM system, it is likely that they share his vision of what an ABM system might accomplish—a "Pax Americana, with the effectiveness and flexibility never dreamed of in the centuries of Pax Britannia."

The ABM system appears to be part of the Reagan administration's attempt to turn the balance of power and terror in the world back to the situation that prevailed in the '50s. The danger is that in trying to do so, the Reagan administration will return us to the situation that prevailed during the Stone Age.

I would like to thank John Pike of the Federation of American Scientists for the generous use of his files for this article.

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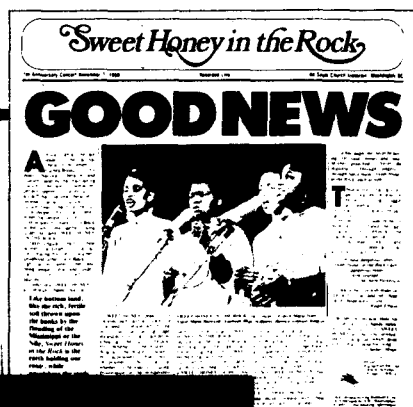
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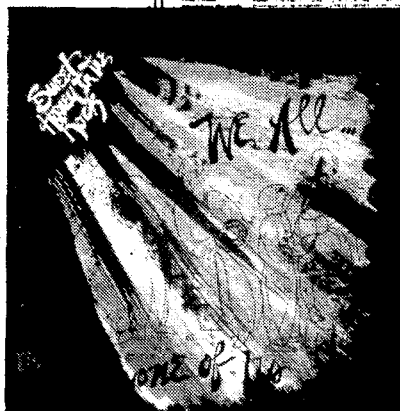


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#### March 24

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#### April 8

Benefit concert for Raoul Gustav Wallenberg, Lutheran Swedish diplomat who saved 100,000 persons from the Nazis and is imprisoned in Russia. Two artists of Philadelphia Orchestra. Gloria Dei (Old Swedes) Church, Delaware Ave. and Christian St.; 2:30 p.m.; followed by champagne reception. Admission \$20, \$35 couple. The Wallenberg Committee of Greater Philadelphia, Inc.; c/o Philadelphia Art Alliance, 251 S. 18th St., Philadelphia, PA 19103. (215) 472-0989.

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#### March 26

The Third Annual Stanley Platrik Memorial Lecture. Irving Howe will speak on "Why Has Socialism in America Failed?" CUNY Graduate Center, 33 W. 42nd St., downstairs auditorium. 8:00 p.m. Admission free.



# Nurses

Continued from page 14

ed to us about a syndrome called wartime ammenorrhea, when young women just don't menstruate. We saw that, too.

**Your hospital was actually shelled. When did that happen and what was the source of the shelling?**

**Irene:** When the Israelis pulled out [on September 5] the Lebanese Army came in to take their positions and that's when real active combat started between the Lebanese Army and the PSP.... The Lebanese Army would come into a village, the Kataib would come in after them.... The hospital was shelled [on September 5]. It started at 7:00 a.m. We were getting direct hits. People came in with huge injuries. Brain tissue outside of head, chest injuries, losing kidneys, losing lungs. No equipment. I had run out of oxygen, there was only oxygen in the ER. We started doing surgery in the delivery room, in the ER, and it didn't stop. You couldn't keep track of who was coming in, who had surgery.... We had to vacate

the third and second floors, keep all the patients on the first floor. On the first floor we were sandbagged, the patients were on the floor on mattresses. The ER was on the ground floor and it was sandbagged, so it was safe, but it got very crowded because we had to keep moving patients in. You couldn't go near the windows where a lot of our supplies and our drug cabinets were, because of the bombs going off.

At one point we had to evacuate. One of the doctors just said, "Prepare your things, we're going to evacuate in five minutes." We had 20 patients with chest tubes and Foley catheters in their bladders and IVs, and we had to take them down the road [in cars] to the next field hospital, which was really a hotel temporarily converted into a hospital. So we took these fresh amputations, God knows how they maintained any vital signs, we carry them down the steps and the fighters [the PSP came in to use the hospital] were sitting on the steps, and there was this terror on everyone's faces. We took a sheet and threw glass ampules and every kind of drug, and blood pressure cuffs, just carried loads of stuff and threw it into the cars, with oxygen bottles, the shelling going on all the time,

hoping somehow that nobody dies on the road.

**Marita:** Twenty minutes after we got to [the hospital] which was three miles down the road, they start coming in again, huge things like peritoneal cavities opened up, arterial bleeds, jugulars blown, and you can't find a clamp—everything's still in boxes.... There's someone at the front door pounding to get injured people in and you can't even get to the door to open it because of the refugees huddled there, and the bombing is still going on and now the shelling starts in *this* village, Ainab. And there was nothing military around us! It was so awful, we resorted to sticking pieces of paper on people's chests and foreheads with name, time the person came in, and the last set of vital signs, what was wrong, and then we tried to prioritize.

(There followed a series of moves from one makeshift hospital to the next. The two women ended up at the main Shuf hospital in Aley, where they stayed for 17 days. Shelling continued in a regular pattern. The U.S. joined the firing on September 18.)

**Marita:** We stopped calling in our injuries, because we'd find when we called in our injuries, our courtyard would be

shelled, so we knew our calls were being intercepted. The doctors would say: "They're doing it again! They're intercepting our calls!" By "they," they meant the Lebanese Army. On the 18th, U.S. Marines were authorized to join the Lebanese Army in their march on Souk el Garb, and then shelling began from the ships in the harbor.

**How could you tell the shells were from the ships?**

**Irene:** There was a difference in intensity. This was much more intense. You could see the shock waves moving the walls of the rooms, and the sound was much louder.

**What was the reaction of the people you worked with?**

**Irene:** People would ask us why the Americans had taken sides. "Why are they doing this?" they would ask. If I could count the times people said this... They would ask, "Do you think your people know about this?" But I never felt malice from people when they talked about it. I expected it but I never got it. It was just this—"Why?"

**Ellen Cantarow writes regularly about the Mideast for the Village Voice, Mother Jones and other national publications.**

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# Testimony

By Ellen Cantarow

American nurses on the  
casualties of U.S. policy  
in Lebanon

**I**N JUNE 1983, registered nurses Irene Borowski, 31, and Marita Gutoski, 28, left their jobs at a hospital in Seattle, Wash., to do volunteer work in Lebanon. They were sponsored first by Oxfam, then by Grassroots International, a relief and development agency based in Cambridge, Mass. They went to Abr Chmoun, a town in the Shuf so close to Beirut—about a half-hour drive—that from its perch in the hills one can see the ocean and the capital city. It is in this region that, on the morning of Israel's invasion of Lebanon, a resistance against that occupation and its Lebanese Phalangist allies started resistance that in recent weeks has brought the downfall of the Gemayel regime and has thrown into glaring relief the bankruptcy of Ronald Reagan's Lebanon policy.

Until the summer of 1982 the Shuf, a region whose majority population is Druze, but which includes Shi'ite Moslems, Maronite Christians and others, was singularly free of the civil war combat that raged elsewhere in the country. But between June 1982 and September 1983, when Israel formally withdrew to the south of Lebanon, underground resistance against both the Israeli occupation and the Phalangist militia, the Kataib, grew strong.

It was partly because this underground resistance was so effective that Israel withdrew. Upon the Israeli withdrawal, the underground resistance erupted into open war as first the Lebanese army (representing the central government in Beirut) and then American ships lying in the harbor outside Beirut shelled the Shuf. No lesser effort would do to prop up the weak Phalangist regime in an area determined to have done with it, and in the last month even American firepower here, as in other parts of the world, has failed in its aim.

The two American nurses went to the Shuf much as other people have joined the Peace Corps in the past—to help, without any preconceived ideas, and in almost complete ignorance of the internal politics of the country. They thought they would stay only two months; instead they stayed for five. As women they became

part of a female civilian and medical effort that is the fabric of life beneath U.S. press stories about diplomatic maneuvers.

What the nurses describe below was happening last fall, and it continued through the events of this past month. While the situation was presented as a confused mess by much of the mainstream press, the basics are fairly simple. Lebanon has smarted under Israeli occupation since summer 1982, and much of the population has been directly attacked by Gemayel's army and the Phalangist militias. The resistance that developed has its roots in a population determined finally to get rest, independence and some measure of justice against the Phalangists, Israel and their American patrons.

**How was the hospital set up where you worked? Who financed it?**

**Irene:** Formally, it was a government hospital, and the government paid some of the staff. The PSP [Progressive Socialist Party] paid for other employees. It was a regular hospital with an operating room, an emergency room, an X-ray department and a skeleton lab. We had a pediatrician, an internist, a surgeon, an anesthesiologist. Marita and I were the only trained nurses. All the physicians had practices outside in the surrounding villages, so they were in the hospital only part of the time.

**The majority of the staff was women. How well trained were they?**

**Marita:** When we got there we saw there was a real lack of education. Many of the young women worked in the hospital for lack of anything else to do. Also to feel as if they were helping in the wartime situation and to get an in to the emergency room to see, when people were brought in dead or injured, whether it was a family member. They were real eager to learn, so a lot of our work was teaching

them. We developed teaching manuals, we became very close to them. It would go from the morning till late at night.

**This was an area that in the summer of 1982 was described in the U.S. press as having welcomed the Israelis. How did the people around you feel about the occupation?**

**Marita:** The very first night we were there we were talking to a group of doctors. We knew nothing. I didn't even know Israeli headquarters were right up the road. I said, "It's really not so bad, they don't fight with you." And someone said, "Just their being there is bad enough." The attitude seemed to be a mixture of tolerance and resentment. One comment I remember—I saw a friend of mine littering and when I called his attention to it he said: "When the Israelis leave will be time enough to clean up." Later, after the Israelis withdrew, we heard from the [PSP] fighters that there had been [resistance] operations.

**Irene:** It was only in retrospect that we learned there was a military resistance. I heard about it after the withdrawal, from a [PSP] military leader who had been in Ansar [the Israeli prison in southern Lebanon]. I said, "Why did they want to put you in prison?" He said, "Because I'd done many operations against them."

**What about the more daily experience of the occupation? What was that like?**

**Irene:** There was incredible tension. You always knew the occupation was there, because there was an Israeli headquarters down the street. At around 5:30 in the morning they would drive their tanks down the road in front of the hospital—that's a lot of metal!—and then they'd fire into the fields and do target practice. **Marita:** Physiologically, there were incredible things—premature aging. The difference between people's chronological ages and the way they looked—like 20 years! One woman looked 47—it turned out she was 27. There was graying very young—14 years old—and high blood pressure very young.

**Were these people peasants?**

**Marita:** No, the woman who looked 47 was one of the nurses.

**Did you see it in one or two people, or...?**

**Marita:** This was general, consistent. High blood pressure at 20, for example. People were so used to pushing themselves through stress, they'd get to a point where they just couldn't take it anymore and they'd collapse. There were many young women who'd come in with hysteria—shortness of breath, hyperventilation, uncontrollable weeping to almost a catatonic state where there'd be no response to stimuli.

**Was this daily, weekly?**

**Irene:** I'd say it was daily. Just for the people with us in the hospital—Marita and I would discuss: who on your floor had a crisis today. One obstetrician talk-

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